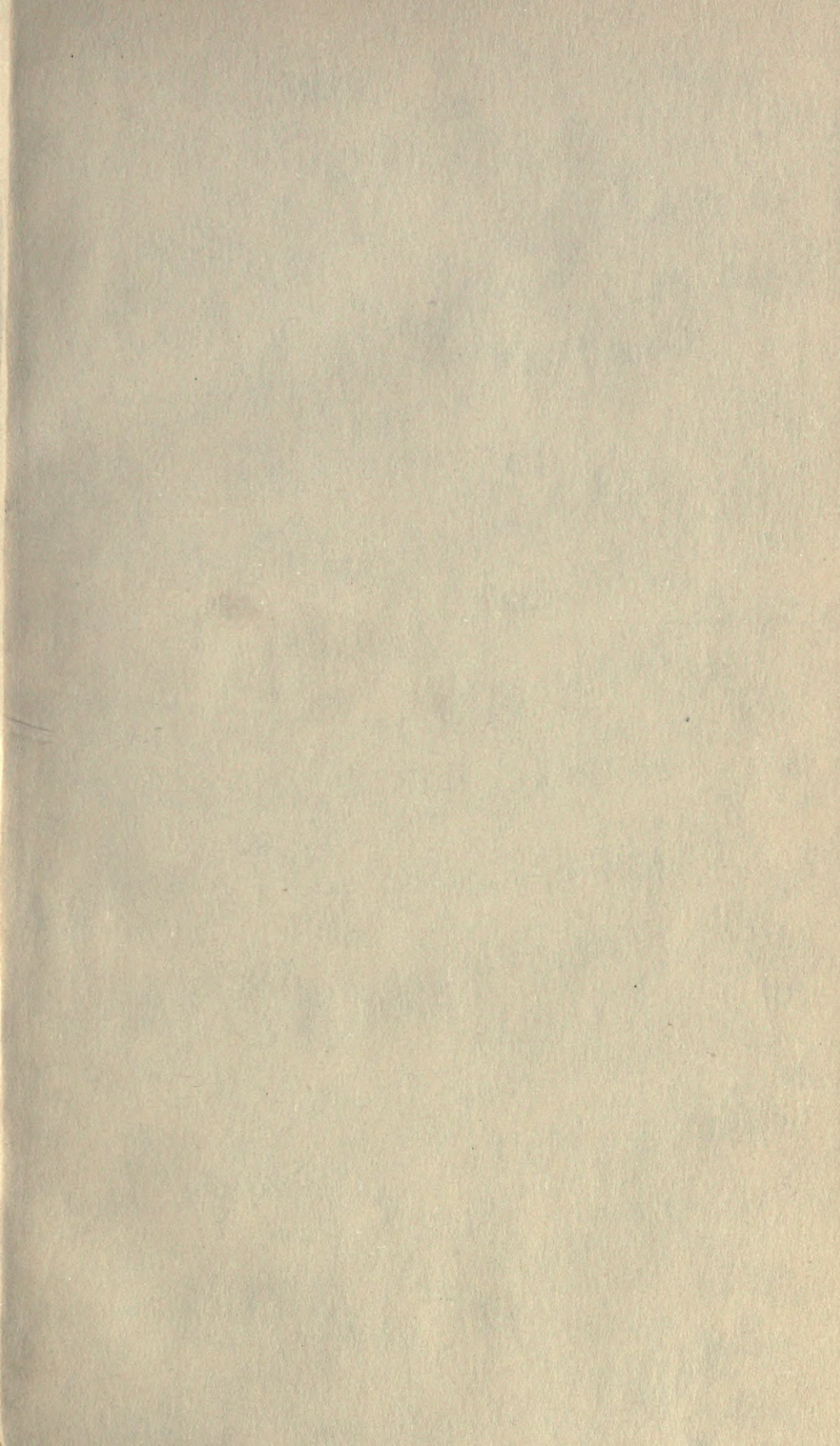




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MOSLEM WORLD

A quarterly review of current events, literature, and thought among Mohammedans and the progress of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

Editor: SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D.

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* * * * *

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* * * * *

PROFESSOR O. GARFIELD JONES, professor of political science at Toledo University, has made a close study of the Philippines for the past twelve years, visiting the Islands frequently for observation of the administration of the insular government. In his research work he has contributed to the government much valuable material on the Philippines. His article is republished from "Asia" by his permission and that of the editor.

* * * * *

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* * * * *

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* * * * *

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At the request of Libraries and specialists in this country and Europe THE MOSLEM WORLD office has prepared a complete Index of the ten volumes of our Quarterly (1911-1920).

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A quarterly review of current events, literature, and
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of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

VOLUME XI

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SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D., F.R.G.S.
Cairo, Egypt

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A MAP SHOWING APPROXIMATELY THE RELATIVE DISTRIBUTION OF MOSLEMS IN CHINA. (See article on Page 53)

THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XI

JANUARY, 1921

NO. 1

A PRAYER FOR MOHAMMEDANS EVERYWHERE

Almighty God, our Heavenly Father, Who hast made of one blood all nations, and hast promised that many shall come from the East and sit down with Abraham in Thy Kingdom: We pray for Thy two hundred million prodigal children in Moslem lands who are still afar off, that they may be brought nigh by the blood of Christ. Look upon them in pity because they are ignorant of Thy truth. Take away their pride of intellect and blindness of heart, and reveal to them the surpassing beauty and power of Thy Son Jesus Christ. Convince them of their sin in rejecting the atonement of the only Saviour. Give moral courage to those who love Thee, that they may boldly confess Thy name. Hasten the day of perfect freedom in Turkey, Arabia, Persia, and Afghanistan. Make Thy people willing in this new day of opportunity in China, India, and Egypt. Send forth reapers where the harvest is ripe, and faithful plowmen to break furrows in lands still neglected. May the pagan tribes of Africa and Malaysia not fall a prey to Islam, but be won for Christ. Bless the ministry of healing in every hospital, and the ministry of love at every mission station. May all Moslem children in mission schools be led to Christ and accept Him as their personal Saviour. Strengthen converts, restore backsliders, and give all those who labor among Mohammedans the tenderness of Christ, so that bruised reeds may become pillars of His church, and smoking flax-wicks burning and shining lights. Make bare Thine arm, O God, and show Thy power. All our expectation is from Thee. Father, the hour has come; glorify Thy Son in the Mohammedan world, and fulfill through Him the prayer of Abraham Thy friend, "Oh, that Ishmael might live before Thee." For Jesus' sake. Amen.

GOVERNMENT AND ISLAM IN AFRICA

The attitude of Christian governments towards the ancient religions professed by nations under their rule, and in particular towards Islam, is one of the most difficult and delicate problems of colonial politics. The question came up for consideration by Commission VII (Missions and Governments) of the Edinburgh Conference in 1910, but the matter was not fully debated, and the finding of the Commission, so far as the British Government was concerned, took the following, somewhat too deferential, form: "It is not singular that, in the effort to give to Mohammedanism the outward respect due to it in a region peopled by its adherents, the British officials should sometimes 'lean over backward.' But the Commission is of the opinion that in Egypt, the Sudan and Northern Nigeria the restrictions deliberately laid upon Christian mission work and the deference paid to Islam are excessive, and that a respectful remonstrance should be made to the British Government on the subject." Whether or no the "respectful remonstrance" was presented I do not know, and whether or no the Government vouchsafed any reply or attempted any vindication of its action I cannot say; but this much is certain, that though nearly ten years have elapsed since the adoption of the above mentioned resolution, matters remain very much in *statu quo ante*, and colonial governments still assume the right to inhibit Christian missions from entering certain spheres, and in particular from prosecuting missionary operations in Islamic territory. How this policy of control and restriction arose, what it implies, and why Christian missionaries call for its reconsideration and reversal, it will be my endeavor in this article to show.

¹ Report of World Missionary Conference, Vol. VII, p. 113.

I.

In former centuries the attitude of Europeans generally towards Islam was one of unqualified antagonism. It was the heritage of the long-drawn struggle of the Crusades, and a reflection of the anxiety and terror of the time when Moorish armies overran the Iberian peninsula and the 'infidel Turk' knocked at the gates of Vienna. In those ages it would have been accounted treason for any man to utter a word of appreciation of the character of Mohammed or of the religion which he founded. The temper of the time can be gauged by the contemptuous language of Sir Thomas Herbert,¹ who travelled in Asia in the early years of the seventeenth century, or it may be illustrated by the following quotation from Hugh Broughton († 1612): "Now consider this Moamed or Machumed, whom God gave up to a blind mind, being a poor man till he married a widow; wealthy then and of high countenance, having the falling sickness and being tormented by the devil, whereby the widow was sorry that she had matched with him. He persuaded her, by himself and others, that his fits were but a trance wherein he talked with the angel Gabriel. So, in time, the impostor was reputed a prophet of God, and from Judaism, Arius, Nestorius and his own brain he frameth a doctrine."

During the past half century, however, the general attitude towards Islam has undergone a momentous change, and public opinion, even in distinctively Christian circles, is fast veering round to the opposite extreme. Forgetful of Dr. Joseph Parker's warning—spoken as jest, but meant in dead earnest—"There are comparative religions, but Christianity is not one of them," many modern writers have covered Mohammed's career and character with a halo of glory, and lauded his religious and ethical system as not merely equal but superior to Christianity in its adaptation to the needs of uncivilized and semi-civilized races and communities. Two causes, among others, have brought about this change of

¹ *Some Years Travels into Africa and Asia the Great* (III Ed. 1677) pp. 320 seq.

² Quoted in Zwemer's *Islam*, p. 40.

attitude, one academic and the other practical. The academic cause was the more careful and systematic study of the life and writings of Mohammed undertaken by enthusiastic students of the new science of "Comparative Religion." The practical cause was the acquisition of Moslem territory by Christian powers, which cast upon the latter the responsibility of governing their new subjects in justice and equity, and compelled them to exchange their traditional antagonism for a conciliatory and protective attitude.

Leaving out of account the epoch-making lecture of Carlyle, delivered in 1840, on "The Hero as Prophet" (Mohammed), the earliest writer to set a current of public opinion favourable to Islam was R. Bosworth Smith, who in 1874 lectured before the Royal Institution on Mohammed and Mohammedanism. When his papers appeared in book form⁴ an admirer said of them: "We are very much mistaken if this work does not form an important starting-point on the road to a more tolerant—if not sympathetic—view, among popular readers, of the chief religion of the Oriental world." Bosworth Smith was followed by Dr. E. W. Blyden, a Negro, whose magazine articles, republished in 1887 under the title "Christianity, Islam and the Negro Race," institute a comparison between Christianity and Mohammedanism, very much in favor of the latter, in their influence upon the native African. Coming from a learned and eloquent Negro, who had enjoyed a wide experience of educational and administrative work in West Africa, this book made a profound impression, and echoes of its main tenets are found in the pages of many later writers. The refrain of panegyric was taken up by Winwood Reade,⁵ the traveller, Canon Isaac Taylor,⁶ the philologist, Joseph Thomson,⁷ the explorer, C. D. Morel,⁸ the publicist, and C. H. Becker,⁹ professor in the Kolonial-

⁴ *Mohammed and Mohammedanism: Lectures delivered at the Royal Institution of Great Britain by R. Bosworth Smith, M. A., Assistant Master in Harrow School (London, 1874).*

⁵ *Savage Africa* (1864), *The African Sketchbook* (1873), and *The Martyrdom of Man* (XVII Ed. 1903).

⁶ *Leaves from an Egyptian Notebook* (1888), and letters to the *Times* on "Islam in Africa."

⁷ "Mohammedanism in Central Africa" in the *Contemporary Review* (Dec. 1886).

⁸ *Affairs of West Africa* (1902) pp. 208 seq.

⁹ "Ist der Islam eine Gefahr für unsere Kolonien?" in *Koloniale Rundschau*, 1909, pp. 266 seq.

institut at Hamburg. A single quotation will suffice to show the attitude of this school of writers. Winwood Reade in his "Savage Africa" speaks as follows: "The (African) continent is being civilized; the Africans are being converted by means of a Religion. It is the same religion which under different names and forms has civilized the Hebrews through Moses and the Western world through Jesus Christ . . . Mohammed a servant of God, redeemed the Eastern world. His followers are redeeming Africa" (p. 578). "Let us judge things by their results. It saves argument. The African pagans and the African Mohammedans may be seen side by side on the same river—the Casemanche. The first are drunkards, gamblers, swine; as diseased in body as debased in mind. The latter are practical Christians. They are sober; truthful; constant in their devotions; strictly honest. They treat kindly those who are below them; they do their duty to their neighbours" (p. 584). It is but just, however, towards both Bosworth Smith and Joseph Thomson to state that they repudiated the conclusions which some critics drew from their language, as though Islam were a religion superior to Christianity, and maintained their belief that Christianity as a creed was "far more elevating, far more majestic, far more inspiring" than its rival. "If then," says Bosworth Smith, "we believe Christianity to be truer and purer in itself than Islam, and than any other religion, we must needs wish others to be partakers of it; and the effort to propagate it is thrice blessed—it blesses him that offers no less than him that accepts it, nay, it often blesses him who accepts it not."

Turn we now from the academical to the practical school. The growth of the spirit of toleration towards Islam can be studied in the utterances and policy of the series of able administrators whom Great Britain sent out to Egypt during the last quarter of the nineteenth century. General Gordon was undoubtedly a most sincere if somewhat peculiar Christian, and his relations with the Moslems over whom he ruled are therefore of the greatest interest. Writing to his sister from

Rageef (Redjaf) on the Upper Nile in 1874 he says: "I have made them make a mosque and keep their Ramadhan, which they never paid any attention to before I came."¹⁰ And three years later he writes from Dara: "When the Egyptians seized the country they took the mosque here for a powder-magazine. I had it cleared out and restored for worship, and endowed the priests and crier, and had a great ceremony at the opening of of it. This is a great *coup*. They blessed me and cursed Sebehr Pasha who took the mosque from them. To me it appears that the Mussulman worships God as well as I do, and is as acceptable, if sincere, as any Christian."¹¹ Lord Cromer, the greatest of Egyptian proconsuls, uses the following language in describing the ideal administrator: "He will find that he has not, as in India, to deal with a body of Moslems, numerically strong, but whose power of cohesion is enfeebled from their being scattered broadcast amongst a population five times as numerous as themselves, who hold another and more tolerant creed. He will have to deal with a smaller but more compact body of Moslems, who are more subject to the influences of their spiritual leaders than their co-religionists in India. He will do his best under the circumstances. He will scrupulously abstain from interference in religious matters. He will be eager to explain that proselytism forms no part of his political programme. He will scrupulously respect all Moslem observances. He will generally, amidst some twinges of his Sabbatarian conscience, observe Friday as a holiday, and perform the work of the Egyptian Government on Sunday."¹²

On all fours with the policy of the British Government in Egypt and the Eastern Sudan was that pursued in the Western Sudan. When a British protectorate was established in 1903 over the Mohammedan emirates of Kano and Sokoto, the High Commissioner of Northern Nigeria (Sir Frederick Lugard) declared *inter alia*: "Government will in no way interfere with the Moham-

¹⁰ G. Birkbeck Hill: *Colonel Gordon in Central Africa, 1874-1879* (London, 1881) p. 54.

¹¹ *Ibid.* p. 248.

¹² Lord Cromer: *Modern Egypt* (London, 1908) Vol. II, pp. 141-2.

medan religion. All men are free to worship God as they please. Mosques and prayer-places will be treated with respect by us.”¹³ That was the policy. Back of it lay the same spirit of toleration and approbation which we observed in the Egyptian administration. Captain C. W. J. Orr, one of Sir F. Lugard’s ablest subordinates, voices it in these words: “The religion of Islam, wherever it prevails, whether at the courts of Constantinople, Delhi or Morocco, or in the less ostentatious governments of West Africa, is uniform, both in its practice and in its influences on the minds of men. The ‘dead hand of Islam’ is sometimes spoken of, as if the religion were a blight which withered all progress amongst the nations who profess it, though the Arabs in Spain held aloft the torch of civilization at a time when the rest of Europe was wrapped in darkness. But even if it be true that Islam lays a dead hand on a people who have reached a certain standard of civilization, it is impossible to deny its quickening influence on African races in a backward state of evolution. Amongst the pagan tribes of Northern Nigeria it is making its converts every day, sweeping away drunkenness, cannibalism and fetishism; mosques and markets spring into existence, and the pagan loses his exclusiveness, and learns to mingle with his fellowmen. To the Negro Islam is not sterile or lifeless. The dead hand is not for him.”¹⁴

II.

Such in brief compass is the history of the gradual spread of the spirit of toleration towards the creed and practices of Islam. In so far as this change of attitude has resulted in a more just estimate of the character of Mohammed, and a more ungrudging recognition of the measure of truth and virtue that is found in Mohammedanism, there is little need to cavil at it. But the advocates of Islam do not claim toleration for the followers of the Prophet of Mecca in the sense of relief from persecution. I know of no Christian government that perse-

¹³ Lady Lugard: *A Tropical Dependency* (London, 1905) p. 452.

¹⁴ Orr: *The Making of Northern Nigeria* (London 1911) p. 259.

cutes or penalizes Mohammedans for the faith that is in them. In common with all other non-Christian religions Islam is not merely tolerated, but legally protected, by the Governments of Great Britain, France, Germany (before 1915), Holland, Italy, the United States and even (since 1905) by Russia. The toleration which modern defenders of Mohammedanism demand means practically its recognition as the *only* religion suitable to races in a certain stage of evolution, and the consequent exclusion of Christianity and Christian missions from areas in which Islam is held to have established a prior claim.

The policy of the various Christian governments, so far as Africa is concerned, was described in a paper by the Rev. W. H. T. Gairdner, of Cairo, read before the Lucknow Conference in 1911.³⁸ France, never over friendly to missions of any creed, has extended permission to certain Protestant bodies to labour among the Moslems of Morocco, Algiers and Tunis, while Roman Catholic missionaries in those states enjoy somewhat greater freedom, and have already established outposts in the Sahara. The attitude of the German Government before the War was summed up in the word *neutrality*—which we shall sometimes find to be not incompatible with a distinct partiality for Islam. In German East Africa, however, Bishop Peel, of Mombasa, reported that the Government “does not regard the Christian religion as one of many, but as the *one* religion which it can recognize as paramount and unique.” The Belgian authorities, mindful of their conflict with the Arabs in 1892, are strongly averse to re-admitting Mohammedans into their Congo colony, and have encouraged Christian missions, both Roman Catholic and Protestant, to settle among the tribes along the northern border, in order to stay the southward advance of Mohammedanism.

It is the attitude of the British Government that gives rise to greatest uneasiness and dissatisfaction. In Egypt, as we have seen, that attitude is frankly pro-Islam. Re-

³⁸ “Islam under Christian Rule”, in the volume *Islam and Missions* (New York etc., 1911) pp. 195-205.

ligious education in the government schools is solely Koranic, and compulsory for Moslem children, while Coptic children, if they succeed in securing any religious instruction at all, have to pay extra for the privilege. The Gordon College at Khartum is a purely Mohammedan institution, where the Koran is taught at the expense of the State. In West Africa matters are in no better condition. One missionary brands the so-called "impartiality" of the Government as "spurious." Mohammedans are preferred to Christians as soldiers, clerks, and personal servants. To the chieftainship over a pagan tribe is appointed not infrequently a Mohammedan. Moslem festivals are observed, Moslem customs retained, Moslem observances respected, and Moslem prejudices deferred to. In the Nigerian educational code, modelled on that of Egypt, provision is made for religious instruction to be imparted to the scholars by "teachers of their own creed," and the secular instruction consists mainly of lessons in reading the Koran and in writing the Arabic script. On every hand is observable that "excessive deference" for Islam, against which, at the Edinburgh Conference, so many voices were raised in indignant expostulation.

But this is not all. Not only is Mohammedanism fostered under the specious plea of toleration and neutrality, but Christian missions are forbidden access to areas in which the population is partly or wholly Moslem. The policy of the Government of Northern Nigeria has been more than once defined, and by no one more clearly than by Mr. E. D. Morel, who was in closest touch with the authorities, and voices their opinion with a candour which is absent from the average official report. His words are these:

"The advent of the missionary into the organized Mohammedan provinces of the north before the country is ripe to receive them, would be a positive danger, besides being an act perilously akin to a breach of faith. Surely we have become sufficiently intelligent to take a broadly human view of these things? There is a field in pagan Northern and pagan Southern Nigeria sufficiently extensive to occupy all the energies of all the missions put together, without invading the heart of Moslem Nigeria. The advent of Christian missions into Kano, Katsina or Sokoto, for example, would be regarded as an act

of aggression. Their presence in Zaria is a great mistake, and I make bold to assert that it is only comparable to a man smoking a pipe on a barrel of gunpowder. We hold this newly occupied country by the force of our prestige, far more than by the very small number of native troops in our service. That it is the duty of government to prevent the introduction of elements, whatever their character and however lofty their motives, whose presence is calculated to cause unrest, is sufficiently self-evident as not to need emphasizing.

One would desire, if possible, that the leaders of the Christian churches themselves should be brought to appreciate the justice of the contention. The establishment of Christian missions in the Mohammedan Emirates would not succeed in damming up the self-propelling currents of Islamic propaganda which are permeating Nigerian paganism. That is the true problem which the churches have to face."¹⁰

In West Africa, as elsewhere over the globe, the religious aspect of the educational question forms one of the most urgent problems which the various governments have to face. Two questions present themselves for solution, (a) shall native education be religious or non-religious? and (b) if religious, shall it be Christian or Moslem? Both questions are so answered as to exclude Christian religious instruction. The Gold Coast Government looks askance at mission schools, and has established non-religious schools of its own, to which the Ashantee people are invited to send their children. In the Report presented to the British Parliament in 1905 Mr. G. F. C. Fuller, the Chief Commissioner, said: "A few chiefs in the northwest and northeast districts are willing and even anxious that their children should acquire knowledge at these schools (of the Wesleyan and Basel missions), but it cannot be denied that the progress made among the Ashantee from an educational point of view has been insignificant. This is not altogether due to a contempt of learning on the part of the Ashantee. It can be greatly ascribed to suspicion of the Christianizing tendencies of these denominational schools. Native Christian converts cut themselves so completely adrift from the rest of the community, that the chiefs are afraid to encourage a movement that experience tells them will, in course of time, undermine their power. Until undenominational government schools are established throughout the country little educational progress need be looked for."¹¹

¹⁰ Morel: *Nigeria: Its Peoples and Its Problems* (London, 1912) p. 153.

¹¹ *Report*, § XVII (Education).

The policy foreshadowed in this Report was carried out a few years later. In March 1912 the Government Commissioner addressed a circular to the Ashantee chiefs, which notified them of the proposed establishment of government non-religious schools, and contained the following: "Education, as given by the Government, does not necessitate any change of religion, as in the case of mission schools, on the part of the scholars. Boys can attend school, and learn reading, writing, arithmetic and other useful things, and still remain faithful to the beliefs, customs and traditions of their ancestors."¹⁸

In the Gold Coast Colony, then, the question whether or no religious instruction should have a place in the school curriculum is answered in the negative, and mission schools are held up to suspicion and implicitly censured for their "Christianizing tendencies." The same question is answered in precisely the opposite way by the Government of Northern Nigeria (for the Mohammedan areas, at least), and it is distinctly declared that instruction shall be religious, but Moslem. Let us listen again to Mr. Morel's faithful interpretation of the Government's policy: "It is the intention of the Administration to insist that all pupils receive careful religious instruction from teachers of their own creed. When I visited the schools, lessons in reading and writing the Koran were being given by a Kano *mallam* specially selected by the Emir of Kano, somewhat on the model of the Egyptian schools. It is earnestly to be hoped that Colonial Office will resist any attempt at interference with this policy. Interference would be disastrous. * * * Let us once more turn to the pages of Mr. Chirol's¹⁹ weighty volume, and note the consequences which have followed the elimination of religious instruction from the government schools. To allow a weakening of the spiritual forces at work among the peoples of the Northern Hausa States would be to perpetuate a cruel wrong upon those who have come under our protection and from thenceforth are our wards."²⁰

¹⁸Circular letter dated 11 March 1912, fourth paragraph.

¹⁹The reference is to Sir Valentine Chirol's volume on *Indian Unrest* (Macmillan).

²⁰*Nigeria*, pp. 164-5.

But the Administration of Northern Nigeria is guilty of grave inconsistency. While in the northern states it "insists" on religious instruction, in the southern provinces it is establishing, alongside of existing mission schools, a system of government religionless schools on the lines of the Gold Coast policy. The northern provinces are Mohammedan, the southern are still chiefly pagan. What is sauce for the Mohammedan goose is plainly not intended to be sauce for the pagan gander. It is not too much to say that the educational policy of the British Government in West Africa is clear injustice. Beginning with the plea of toleration and the profession of neutrality as between religion and religion, it ends by obstructing Christian missions and practically disowning Christianity. If the field of its operations is Moslem, religious instruction is to be insisted on; if the field is pagan, religious instruction is to be excluded from the school curriculum. To the former field Christian missions are denied the right of entry; in the latter they are rendered suspicious in the eyes of the natives by the Government's attitude, and their educational work is hampered by the powerful competition of the government schools.

III.

In the above rapid review of the situation, as it now presents itself, some indication has been given, in the various extracts from official and semi-official sources, of the arguments by which the government policy is supported. Broadly speaking, these arguments may be reduced to three: (1) Christian missions in Mohammedan areas are a menace to peace and quiet; (2) Christian schools and Christian missions generally exercise a denationalizing influence on the native and "destroy racial identity" (Morel); (3) Experience proves that Islam is better adapted to the African than Christianity, and in point of fact it is making much more rapid headway. These arguments, which have been examined and frequently refuted by more competent writers, I propose once more to traverse.

(1) Christian missions are a menace to peace and quiet

in Moslem territories, and, "that it is the duty of the Government to prevent the introduction of elements, whatever their character and however lofty their motives, whose presence is calculated to cause unrest, is sufficiently self-evident not to need emphasising" (Morel). So runs the argument. The major premise in the syllogism—that it is the duty of Government to exclude dangerous elements may be conceded; but the minor premise—that Christian missions constitute such an element of danger—must be resolutely denied. Can this charge against Christian missionaries be substantiated by those who lay it? Has the tactful preaching of the Gospel ever caused trouble in Moslem lands? And why should missionaries, in defiance of the most elementary principle of justice, be held guilty until they have proved their innocence? "Their presence in Zaria," says Mr. Morel, "is a great mistake, and I make bold to assert that it is only comparable to a man smoking a pipe on a barrel of gunpowder." Not a particle of evidence is adduced to support this accusation. Dr. Walter Miller, the missionary in question, has spent thirteen years in Zaria, on sufferance, and I am not aware that any act of provocation has been laid to his charge. The fear that the presence of Christian missionaries in Moslem areas will lead to disturbances and complications is sufficiently dispelled by the fact that they have laboured for years, not only in the chief cities of Turkey and Syria, but in such strongholds of Islam as Cairo, Tripoli and Morocco. When the pertinent question is put, "When will Christian missions cease to be a menace to the public peace and safety?" the reply is, "When things are more settled." Says Captain Orr: "It has been deemed prudent by the authorities to restrict missionary enterprise in the northern Mohammedan states until railway communication has rendered the military situation more secure."²¹ This was written in 1911. The railway reached Kano in the same year, and still missionaries are excluded. How much more time must be allowed for the military situation to be rendered "secure?"

²¹ *The Making of Northern Nigeria*, p. 261.

It is not surprising that this line of argument has been abandoned by the most recent apologist for the government policy of exclusion. Mr. C. L. Temple, until lately Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria, says very frankly: "Personally, and as expressing a private opinion, I do not think that the Moslem population of Kano would raise any objection to such a mission *qua* mission and on religious grounds, so long as the missionaries were white men and so long as they did not preach openly in the streets. A medical mission on the line of the North African missions would probably not raise any protest owing to any fear on the part of the Mohammedans lest many of their creed should be converted."²² Such an admission, coming from such an authority, than whom no European has a wider or more intimate knowledge of the religious and political situation in Northern Nigeria, is of the utmost moment. It marks the failure of the pipe-and-gunpowder theory. We may take it as signifying that the fear that Christian missionaries are likely to cause religious disturbances in Moslem communities may be dismissed for good and all.

There is another question which should be considered at this stage, before we pass to the next aspect of the subject under discussion. It is this, if the claim of Government to decide whether Christian missions shall or shall not enter any given field, is to be tacitly acknowledged. A missionary of the Cross possesses the right, as he stands under the command, to evangelize all nations—a right which he does well to assert, and perhaps also does well to forego. On the one hand he may act on the principle enunciated by Graham Wilmot Brooke, when about to embark on the dangerous enterprise of undertaking evangelistic work in the Western Sudan: "As the missionaries enter the Moslem states under the necessity of violating the law of Islam, which forbids anyone to endeavour to turn Moslems to Christ, they could not, under any circumstances, ask for British intervention to extricate them from the dangers they thus call down upon themselves. But also for the sake of the

²² *Native Races and Their Rulers*, (Capetown, 1918) p. 214.

natives, who have to be urged to brave the wrath of man for Christ's sake, it is necessary that the missionaries should themselves take the lead in facing these dangers."²³

Circumstances may conceivably arise in which a missionary's obedience to the earthly government is superseded by a higher obligation, and he is constrained to say: We must obey God rather than men. In such cases he will readily submit, for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, to the pains and penalties which may overtake him in consequence of his transgression of human laws. But for the most part the Christian missionary will recognize that the powers that be are ordained of God, and do not bear the sword in vain. He will therefore subject himself to the ordinance of man, in order by well-doing to put to silence the ignorance of foolish men. While in no wise surrendering or compromising his right to preach the Gospel to every creature, he will not obstinately insist upon it, but will rather seek by the exercise of patience and forbearance, to persuade the government to remove irksome restrictions, and permit judicious and experienced men to enter closed areas.²⁴ In any case, we should remember that it is never our duty to force locked doors, but rather to enter those that stand ajar; and as regards the former to wait until such time as, in response to the prayer of faith, the iron gates will open of their own accord.

(2) Christian missions denationalize the native—is the second reason adduced against missionary effort among Moslems. All through his book²⁵ Mr. Morel rings the changes on this note with refreshing straightforwardness, and Mr. Temple brings the same charge in more circum-spect and diplomatic language. "While Islam preserves racial identity, Christianity destroys it," says the former bluntly. Mr. Temple, as we have seen above, rejects the old contention that missions should be barred through dread of fanatical outbreaks. But he admits that the

²³ Quoted by Speer: *Missionary Principles and Practice* (New York, 1902) p. 102.

²⁴ To the acquiescent and conciliatory attitude of missionaries in Northern Nigeria Captain Orr bears the following testimony: "Missionaries in Northern Nigeria have, I think, always shown themselves most anxious to avoid embarrassing the Government, and have loyally acquiesced in all decisions, even when these have conflicted with their own opinions; and a frank discussion between residents and missionaries has usually had satisfactory results." *Making of Northern Nigeria*, p. 264.

²⁵ *Nigeria*, pp. xx, 153-4, 160, 214, 216, 219-221, 260.

North-Nigerian Government has forbidden mission from entering certain spheres, and justifies this policy in the following way: "If we allow the authority of native administrations to become ineffective—the native will cease to be, though primitive, robust mentally and physically, and will become a kind of nondescript colourless entity, aping in a lackadaisical and futile manner the appearance and shibboleths of the Europeans, all the time knowing in his heart that he is not and can never become one of them. Such is the future which we can easily prepare for the native by divorcing him from his inherited instincts, customs and natural surroundings. Nor have we any reason to suppose—in fact, the evidence all points in the opposite direction—that well-meaning but misapplied efforts on the part of the missionary are any less conducive to such deplorable results than are well-intentioned but ill-considered measures taken by the government. Any and every influence, I contend, which outrages the pride of race should be opposed by the government in the interests of the governing as well as of the governed races."²⁶

Now no one is swifter than Mr. Temple himself to perceive that this is an argument which applies to non-Christian races all over the globe, and not in any sense to Moslems only. If the validity of the reasoning in the above quotation be allowed, it would shut the door upon Christian missionary enterprise to Chinese and Japanese, Australians and Papuans, American Indians and African Bantu, quite as securely as to Nigerian Moslems. The only rejoinder Mr. Temple vouchsafes is: "This is true, but methods of government not having been as yet reduced to the rules of an exact science, it is not expedient in every case to push an argument to its full logical conclusions." That is all very well; but is not the missionary justified in distributing the logic that can lead to so monstrous a conclusion? The fact is, as I have pointed out elsewhere,²⁷ and as has been shewn far more ably by the reviewer of Mr. Temple's book in the *International Re-*

²⁶*Native Races and Their Rulers*, p. 215-6.

²⁷Review of "*Native Races and Their Rulers*" in the *Christian Express* (Lovedale) for May 1919 (p. 73).

view of Missions, that the Nigerian Government claims both the ability to judge and the right to decide whether Christian missionaries shall be permitted to occupy and evangelize not Mohammedan areas only, but also pagan tribes. "No Prussian, in fact, has claimed more power for the state than has the Colonial Office in recent years."²⁸ But this is somewhat aside from our present point, which is that as a special argument against Christian propaganda in Mohammedan areas, the denationalization plea falls to the ground.

It should hardly be necessary, I take it, to dwell on the obvious truth, so often emphasized, but apparently not yet grasped by those who wring their hands over the denationalization of the native, that it is not Christianity, but Western civilization, they should arraign. Christianity, rightly interpreted and rightly preached, is not a disintegrating but a consolidating force. It made a nation of the Baganda when they were rent by faction, and seemed to be hopelessly given over to the action of centrifugal forces. It enabled Moshesh to gather the remnants of the scattered Basuto tribes, and to mould them into the compact nation that now occupies the Switzerland of South Africa. It fortified Khama in his determination to protect his people from the evils of the drink traffic, so that the Bamangwato are today the most populous and most influential of Bechuana tribes. It is true that there is a process of denationalization at work, not in West Africa only, but in East Africa, in the Congo, in South Africa, and indeed all over the continent, but it operates not because of, but in spite of, Christian influences. I grant that there are missions which have unwisely introduced European clothing and a European system of education for their pupils, but they are the exception. In the vast majority of missions—in practically all which I was privileged to visit in the years 1913-1916—native dress is insisted on, and instruction is imparted in the vernacular and on approved pedagogic principles.

It is not Christianity which, throughout the African

²⁸ Review of "Native Races and Their Rulers" in the *International Review of Missions*, April 1919 (p. 266).

continent, is acting as a solvent upon old-time customs and native tribal organization, but the incessant and inevitable impact of civilization. Against this impact there is no appeal and no remedy. For better or for worse the African lies open to the influx of a foreign element, which must profoundly modify his ancient habits of thought and life. This influx allows neither room nor time for a gradual evolution: the peoples of the Dark Continent are in the grip of a mighty revolution. In a year, in a day, they pass through an evolutionary process, which for our ancestors occupied a thousand years. For the African it is but a step from the *assegai* to the Lee-Metford rifle, from the *machila* to the motor-car, from the notched stick to the multiplication table, and from drum and beacon-fire to the telephone and the Marconi-graph. Can we wonder if at times the new knowledge goes to his head like new wine, filling him with pride and self-importance, and leading him to discard as obsolete what is good as well as what is evil in his ancestral customs? These are the influences that make for denationalization, not the preaching of the Gospel. The railway-station at Kano is a more potent solvent of Moslem custom than a Christian church would be.

(3) The final plea employed in this connection runs: When all's said and done, Islam is better adapted to Africa and to the cultural stage of the African than Christianity. Mr. Morel reinforces his own vigorous arguments for this position by triumphantly quoting Sir Harry Johnston to the effect that "Islam has come to Negro Africa as a great blessing, raising up savages to a state, at any rate, of semi-civilization, making them God-fearing, self-respecting, temperate, courageous and picturesque."²⁰ That Islam possesses certain estimable qualities may be freely conceded. It is, for the African, an indigenous and not a foreign faith; it represents a great advance upon the crude fetishism and idolatry which it endeavours to supercede; it has a simple and easily comprehensible creed—the simplest and shortest in the world; it preaches the brotherhood and equality of

²⁰ *Nigeria*, p. 219.

all believers; it is not a decadent belief, but a living, active, self-propagating religion. Let these claims for Mohammedanism be granted; though it would not be difficult to advance many considerations in abatement of some of them. For example: that Islam is indigenous to Africa is a historical accident rather than an ethical virtue; though essentially a protest against paganism, it has nevertheless absorbed and perpetuated many animistic elements; its creed proclaims the duty of faith in a moral Governor of the universe, but knows nothing of a Father in Jesus Christ, who so loved sinful men that He gave His only Son for their redemption; over against its doctrine of equality must be placed its support of slavery, which is the practical denial of that doctrine; and finally, that it is not decadent, but virile and active, is a virtue which is shared by—I shall not say, Christianity, but—even Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. There is no need for me to enlarge upon more serious counts in the indictment of Islam—that it fosters sensualism and unchastity; that it legalises polygamy and concubinage; that it degrades womankind and weakens family ties; that wherever it has planted its foot, and most signally in Africa, it has been the powerful bulwark of slavery; and that its social system and its legal code are such as to render impossible all progress that cannot be proved to be consistent with Koranic teaching. These counts have been elaborated in many monographs and manuals dealing with the Mohammedan question.

Another aspect of the argument now merits attention. Islam in West Africa, so it is said, produces results compared with which the fruits of Christian missions are feeble and disappointing. Bosworth Smith puts the matter thus: "Christian travellers, with every wish to think otherwise, have remarked that the Negro who accepts Mohammedanism acquires at once a sense of the dignity of human nature not commonly found even among those who have been brought to accept Christianity."⁸⁰ The Moslem convert is "God-fearing, self-respecting, temperate, courageous," acquiring at one bound, as it were,

⁸⁰ *Mohammed and Mohammedanism*, p. 32.

virtues after which the Christian convert strives vainly for years. This is a species of argument which it is equally difficult to substantiate and to rebut. It is a generalization which would need a large array of facts either to prove or to disprove. This at least may be affirmed without fear of contradiction, that the argument is mostly employed by those who have only been able to compare the worst side of Christianity with the best side of Mohammedanism. On the West Coast Christianity is weighted with a sort of fatal disparagement in the shrill contrast, which obtrudes itself upon every traveller, between the Christian missionary and the unChristian trader. Natives cannot conceive why an ethical code so strictly observed and enforced by the missionary should be so flagrantly transgressed by his co-religionist (as is supposed), the white settler.

Much is made of the argument that in the resistance it offers to intemperance Islam forms a contrast to Christianity.

"The Mohammedan," says Sir G. Carter, a former Governor of Lagos, "is naturally sober—it is a part of his religion—and no one can fail to be struck with the difference this habit of sobriety makes in the man. There is a dignity and self-respect about the Mohammedan negro which is looked for in vain in his Christian brother."⁸¹ If this is really so, and for many Mohammedan areas it is no doubt true, it is to be reckoned to Islam for righteousness. But the statement must be accepted with due caution. The use of wine and strong drink was forbidden by the Prophet, but the average Mohammedan is not as good as his creed. Many travellers in West Africa—Binger, Thomson, Lugard—have borne witness to the ravages of intemperance in Mohammedan communities.⁸² "Mohammedanism in theory and Mohammedanism in practice are two totally different things, and nowhere more so than in the Central Sudan."⁸³

Is the African predestined to Islam? is the striking

⁸¹ *The Times*, June 5, 1895.

⁸² Vide Robinson: *Hausaland* (London 1896) pp. 188-9 for the evidence. The Frenchman Binger e. g. says of the Fulani, "All are Mohammedans without exception, and all are drunken in the fullest acceptance of the term."

⁸³ *Ibid* p. 192.

question put by Professor Meinhof in his article on "The Moslem Advance in Africa"³⁴ and he gives cogent reasons for answering it in the negative. The fact that Mohammedanism for twelve hundred years had an open door to Central Africa with abundant opportunity to subdue the whole continent and yet failed to do so, is sufficient reason for concluding that Africa is not predestined to Islam. That in some respects Islam has helped the negro, only throws into clearer relief the outstanding truth that it cannot satisfy his spiritual needs beyond a certain stage, which is speedily attained. Beyond that the African's moral and religious development suffers arrest. Professor Mirbt, contemplating Islam from the viewpoint of colonial statesmanship rather than of missionary obligation, sums up the disabilities under which Islam labours in these words:

"In so far as it (Mohammedanism) recognizes and favors polygamy, it restricts family life to a low level, and so is hurtful, in every relationship, to those colonies which are affected by the problem of polygamy. It knows of no moral aims, it does not concern itself with the creation of economic values, and it is inactive in the domain of instruction and popular education. So intimate has been its relationship to slavery in Africa, that the latter has found in Islam its strongest support, and for the furtherance of polygamy has had a direct interest in its continuation. It can set nations free from the coarsest forms of life and introduce a kind of primitive culture, but it is soon self-satisfied. Since it associates itself with heathenism wherever it is in contact with the latter, and rests content with being ritually and culturally respected, it attracts followers, but exercises no pedagogic influence over them. When we observe what Islam effects as well as what it fails to effect, we light everywhere upon unproductiveness, conservatism, intellectual indolence, gross sensuality; in other words, it is the enemy of colonization and of culture, and impedes the moral, intellectual and economic progress of the negro."³⁵

Having now examined, though very cursorily, the reasons why, ostensibly, Government continues to pay such "excessive deference" to Islam, let me in conclusion return to the question why we urge that the policy of excluding Christian missions from Mohammedan territory should be reversed. Christian missionary statesmen call for another and more generous course of action on these grounds—the policy of restriction is unjust, it is dishonourable, and it is dangerous not merely to the inter-

³⁴*Islam and Missions*—paper V.

³⁵ Carl Mirbt: *Mission and Kolonialpolitik in den deutschen Schutzgebieten* (Tübingen, 1910) p. 262.

ests of Christianity but to the prestige of the Government.

It is an unjust policy, I say. With every desire to be fair and impartial, it discriminates in favour of Islam and adversely to Christianity. The *vis inertiae* of Mohammedanism exercises a numbing influence over the European official. Against the dead weight of Islam, against that passive resistance to Western ideas which the Mohammedan offers, he strives in vain. Presently he too learns to say *Kismet*, and begins to defer to Moslem prejudice; and this deference ends, as it must, in positive injustice towards Christianity and Christian missionary effort.

The policy of exclusion is dishonourable. However much the government may desire to camouflage the fact, it is born of fear. Islam, from Morocco to Malaysia, presents a united front, and constitutes a political factor of enormous potency. Dr. Carl Peters, formerly Governor of German East Africa, said very incautiously in 1906: "There is one factor which might fall on our side of the balance, and in case of a world war might be made useful to us; that factor is Islam. And if German policy is bold enough, it can fashion the dynamite to blow into the air the rule of the Western powers from Morocco to Calcutta."⁸⁸ From the feeling of dread arose the policy of conciliation and excessive deference. The sleeping dog of Islam must be let lie, or if half awake be humoured and pacified with sops of "neutrality" and "non-interference." But the policy is none the less a pusillanimous and dishonourable one. The Great War has disproved Dr. Peters' prophecy and disappointed German hopes: Islam did not combine to "blow into the air the rule of Western powers."

The policy of exclusion is dangerous. It compromises Christianity and it compromises Christian governments. Islam, it must be remembered, is at the same time a religion and a political and social system, and the Mohammedan cannot think of these two aspects as divorced. As little can he imagine a European culture which is not at the same time a religious force, or a Christian religion

⁸⁸ Quoted in Zwemer's *Islam*, p. 239.

which does not imply and convey a Christian culture. The Government policy of excluding Christianity from, while introducing European rule and Western influence into, Moslem communities, is calculated not only seriously to compromise the claims of Christianity, but to bring government itself into disrepute with thoughtful Mohammedans. I shall not labor this point, for I have found a doughty allay where least expected. I venture to quote the unimpeachable testimony of Mr. Temple, to prove that the Moslem will hold in enhanced respect the European who is not ashamed of his religion. Says Mr. Temple: "I can say with truth that the fact that Christian ministers of religion were to be found wherever there was any considerable number of Europeans would, so far from engendering suspicion, increase the respect in which the Moslem holds us. Respectable Moslems are far more liable to be shocked, and their suspicions roused, by an absence of the observances of the Christian religion by Christians than by the fact that Christian ministers are to be found in their country."⁸⁷

Substitute for the words "Christian ministers of religion" the words "Christian missionaries," and *cadit tota quaestio vexata*. May we not hope that, now we are starting with a clean slate, these significant words of the late Lieutenant-Governor of Northern Nigeria will lead the Government to a reconsideration of its line of action, and to the adoption of a more enlightened and more generous policy towards Christian missions in Mohammedan fields?

Stellenbosch, S. Africa.

J. DU PLESSIS.

⁸⁷ *Native Races and Their Rulers*, pp. 218-9.

A MOORISH WOMAN'S LIFE

All Moorish women's lives are not alike any more than all British, French or American women's lives are alike, but the following true incidents in the lives of some Moorish women I have known give a very true picture of the ordinary, year in year out, life of a Moorish woman.

But before getting on the subject of the Moorish woman we must have a look at the life of the Moorish girl. So we will begin at her birth and follow her on, step by step, till she is grown up. All the particulars I give here refer to life in the one inland city which I know well—there may be little differences in other parts of the country in the life of girl or woman. A Moorish girl's birth is announced to the world by the women of the house in which she is born uttering two-ear-piercing shouts of joy ("*lulu*ing" this screaming is called, tho' there is no resemblance to the soft sound of "*lulu*" in the harsh shout) with a short space between the two so as to render them very distinct to the neighbors; for a boy's birth is announced by *three* such shouts, a boy being of much more importance than a girl; though as a rule, the girl is made very welcome, too, and sometimes there is great joy that a baby is a girl, especially if the mother already has several boys living, or if she has had many boys, even though they are not all alive.

I know one mother with three boys living and three dead; one died of smallpox and the two others were weakly ill-nourished babies who lived only a short time; but she was firmly convinced that her children died because someone had cast the evil eye on her on account of her excessive good fortune in having given birth to so many boys, and she was very, very anxious lest her next baby should also be a boy and so the evil eye's effects continue. She often called upon God to requite any who had "eyed" her and insisted that nothing else killed her

children. The next baby *was* a girl, and she is now a fine child of over two years, having been well nourished by a black nurse whose ebony son makes a picture with the little ivory girl—for Kinza (a treasure) is very fair-skinned.

But sometimes the girls are very unwelcome. There is a family living near us who have four little girls and one boy, and the last little girl had a very bad reception; even the mother said, "I don't want her, I don't like her—I'll never like her." The only sign of rejoicing in the house was over the mother. The mother-in-law and slaves said, "Well, at any rate—praise be to God that *she* has got over it, but we wanted a boy." The father even shed tears when he heard of her birth. She is now a pretty baby of some six months and is probably doing what the Moorish saying says a girl does—i. e.: "A boy, when he is born, is in the very centre of the liver (the liver is the seat of the human affections) but sometimes works his way out to its extreme edge. A girl, when she is born, is on the extreme edge of the liver, but she works her way into its very centre." When the baby is eight days old there is held a great reception of friends and relatives—a sheep is sacrificed for her and she receives her name—this eighth day feast is called the *Sabaa* or "Seventh," probably because it marks the beginning of the second set of seven days in her life. It sometimes goes on for several days. The first morning is given up to men guests who come very early to a very fine breakfast feast and are present at the offering of the sheep which is slaughtered in the beautifully tiled courtyard—the one who slaughters it having first inquired the name of the baby and mentioning her name as he kills the animal. The mother is in a room at hand with a curtain covering its doorway. This part of the ceremony (i. e. the slaughtering and naming) is called the *Akeka* or "Separation" because the child is "separated" or distinguished from all the rest of the family by having a separate name bestowed upon her. The Moors never name a child for a living person; but, if its grandfather is dead, then the first boy in a family is called for him;

and also, if the grandmother is dead, the first girl is called usually, for her; otherwise the custom is to call the first boy Seedi Mohammed (for the Prophet), and the first girl Fatma (for his daughter); in this case it does not matter if these names are also the names of the children's parents, for the children are not considered as being named for them.

After the men guests have dispersed the women arrive. If the family is wealthy enough to have a very grand *Sabaa'* the women stay for a number of days and bring with them their babies and children who are too small to be left at home, and also slaves to look after the children. They dress up in different clothes and jewels each day—most of the things being borrowed for the occasion—and sit in state in the courtyard each afternoon, while hired women musicians sit on mattresses in the centre and play all sorts of instruments made of coarse earthenware with parchment tightly stretched across their open ends. Some of them play the violin; these are considered superior musicians.

On the day of the *Akeka* the baby receives its first bath; up till then it had been wrapped in soft rags and smeared with oil and henna, etc., but now it is dressed in little bright silk garments just the shape of its mother's, and then is swaddled in a long brightly colored band which is rolled round and round its body from the shoulders to the feet, its little arms having been first placed very exactly flat against its sides and the sleeves pulled down so that no creases or wrinkles are left which might hurt it or cause it discomfort. It is then wrapped in a soft silk or muslin shawl, embroidered round its four sides and an end of the shawl is tied on its head with a piece of embroidery to match; its eyelids and eyebrows are blackened and its hands tinged with henna. It is now on show and the old nurse sits in the mother's room and receives the pieces of silver money which admiring friends and relatives place on the baby's brow as it lies on her knee. Up till this time the baby had not been shown to visitors lest the evil eye should be cast upon it, and now each one who sees it says, "To the Praise of God"

or some such ejaculation as she looks at the little one, and this ejaculation is supposed to keep away the effects of the evil eye.

When the baby is a few weeks old she is taken by her mother, (if the mother is not one of those who are never allowed out of the house in day time) or by some woman friend, to visit the tomb of the patron saint of the town; or to the tomb or to the shrine of some other saint if the baby is being specially dedicated to any saint or order; and when she is a few months old, either she is taken to *Dar Ettabeebat* ("the missionaries' house") or the *tabeebat* is asked to come to her father's home that she may be vaccinated or "have the smallpox taken out of her," for her friends recognize that she must have one of three kinds of smallpox—"God's smallpox," i. e., smallpox—or "Ettabeebats smallpox," i. e., vaccination—or "bought smallpox," i. e. inoculation which is hardly practiced now but used to be done by the Jews who charged a certain sum of money for doing it. There are now also, in all parts of the French Protectorate, dispensaries where children can be vaccinated free.

Then when the little one (whom we will call Kinza) is about three years old she begins to attend "*Dar El Maal-ama*" (or the Mistress' House) where she is taught the special trade of the "mistress" who has been chosen to instruct her. The trade may be embroidery on linen, muslin or silk with the cross stitch which comes out the same on both sides; or it may be the more quickly worked "Eastern" embroidery, something like crewel work; or plain sewing; or lace making; or machine sewing; or fringe making; or slipper embroidery with gold thread; or the heavy gold embroidery of saddles, etc.; or the knotted silk work of coverings for reins and trappings for horses and mules; or preparing boards for book-binders; or, more rarely, reading and reciting the Koran and writing. There are not here as yet any schools opened by the French for native girls; the people are not desirous to have their girls taught to read or write; for, they say, "It is not good for women to know more than just what is necessary to enable them to pray." There

are very good French schools for Jewish girls in the Mellah or Jewish quarter, and it is quite a pleasure to see the pretty tidy little things in their black and white checked overalls and their hair neatly tied with a scarlet band of ribbon. But Kinza at the same age is already veiled and goes about the streets with a white muslin "*litam*" drawn tightly over her face, crossed at the back of her head and drawn again over her forehead so leaving only her eyes to be seen. However, at three, when she begins to go daily to "*Dar El Maalama*" she is too small to bear the veil and also too small to use her needle aright, so she learns to sit and watch the older children sew or embroider, and after a little she is promoted and allowed to thread their needles for them; then she can be trusted with a needle and silk and is put to the task of "filling in," that is crossing the simple stitches which the mistress or bigger girls have put in to trace out the pattern to be worked. And woe to Kinza if she makes a mistake, for one false stitch puts the whole pattern wrong, and naturally the *Maalama* is very angry.

Kinza attends *Dar El Maalama* till she is about twelve or thirteen, then she is considered too old to go out daily and is provided with an embroidery frame at home and begins to teach other little ones who come to her, as she used to go to *Dar El Maalama*. She now either takes in work to do for others, or sets to embroider her own trousseau, if her father is well enough off to buy the silks and muslin which she needs, before he has received the money which the bridegroom's people will pay him on her engagement, and which all will be returned in bedding and embroidery when she is married. Kinza's wedding things are now being prepared, even though it may be she is not yet engaged, for she is almost sure to be married off, as her parents arrange all about it, and it is not her business. As one father here answered, when he was asked what his daughter said about a marriage he was arranging for her—"She!" he said, "she doesn't say anything; it's not her business."

S. M. DENISON.

Fez, Morocco.

OUR MANDATE OVER MOROLAND *

Seventeen years ago Leonard Wood, in the name of the United States, took the reins of government from the hands of the Sultan of Sulu, and undertook to disarm a savage people and to establish among them a respect for Christian law and democratic institutions. Ten years later, when the difficult military undertaking was completed and order established throughout Moroland for the first time in history, John J. Pershing turned the well-disciplined Moros over to the civil governor of the Philippines. The day of the fighter was past. The day of the teacher had come.

Today, Filipinos by the thousand are migrating to this most fertile Mohammedan territory to live as neighbors with these one-time fanatical Moros, who for ages terrorized the Philippine Islands, ravaged the coast towns of the Christian Filipinos, and made Moroland (one-third of the entire Philippine archipelago) more terrifying to the Christian Filipinos than were our western plains to us during the worst days of the Indian massacres.

To approach a full understanding of what the United States has done and plans to do as a mandatory power in Moroland, one must first have a more than casual understanding of the Moro himself.

It was a strange fate that made Christian Spain both the eastern and western frontier against Mohammedanism. After valiantly reconquering their beloved Spain from the Moors and proving their undying loyalty to the Catholic faith by the expulsion of the Jews and Moors from sunny Andalusia, from the thriving industries of Toledo and from the Moslem temples of old Granada itself, these crusaders of Catholic Spain scarcely had been given time to boast of the fervent orthodoxy of the Spanish nation before Legaspi, the colonizer, and Urdaneta,

* This article is reprinted from *Asia*, July 1920, by special permission of the author and publishers. We refer the readers to the magazine mentioned for the illustrations.

the priest, found the way of the Cross again blocked by the Crescent of Islam. This was when they set out from Mexico in 1568 to carry conquest and Catholicism to Spain's kingdom beyond the seas. The land of King Philip, the Philippines, was discovered for the Christians in 1521 by Magellan, who lost his life there in a vain-glorious fight with the natives. The Mohammedans were there before him. Mohammedanism, spreading eastward, had crossed India and the Malay Archipelago; then, turning northward from Borneo, had conquered the richest lands of the Philippines—Mindanao and Sulu—and was reaching out long arms for the remainder of the archipelago when Legaspi sailed into Manila Bay in 1570 to dispossess the Mohammedan sultan, Lacondola, who had only a short time before made himself ruler of the prosperous native village of Tondo beside the muddy waters of the Pasig. Today, monuments to Magellan, Legaspi and Urdaneta, lofty Christian churches, a Christian government and almost three hundred thousand Christian communicants mark the site where the Crescent first gave way to the Cross on the new Oriental battle-ground of these two great religions.

These dark-skinned followers of Mohammed in the Philippines were called by the Spaniards, Moros, the same name given to the swarthy Moslems of Africa in Spain. A permanent Spanish government was set up at Tondo (Manila), the sultan, Lacondola, was driven out, and the conquest and conversion of the Filipinos was undertaken by the fearless *Conquistadores* (conquerors) and the dauntless Spanish friars. The spread of Mohammedanism north of Mindanao was checked and some progress was made in Christianizing the pagan Malays of the north and east coasts of this island. But in central and southern Mindanao and in the Sulu archipelago where the Koran was already firmly established, the Christian missionaries made no progress and the drilled soldiery of Spain made no conquests.

After two and a half centuries of effort a few garrisons were established, but the status of the Spaniards in Mindanao was always more that of besieged interlopers than

of conquerors and rulers. In Jolo, the capital of Sulu, a garrison, safely entrenched behind a high stone wall, was located. But ten years of American conquest and pacification were necessary before a white man could safely venture five hundred yards beyond the stone wall of the garrisoned town.

The psychology of Mohammedanism is incomprehensible to persons reared in the atmosphere and teachings of American Christianity. With us the separation of church and state is as much a matter of course as the air we breathe. With us suicide is immoral and the killing of an unbeliever is a crime punishable with death. The Mohammedan has no conception of ecclesiastical and state law. There is only one law, the Koran; and while in fact the priest and the ruler may be different persons, they are different only in a functional way, like a judge and an executive in our government. The spiritual ruler is also temporal ruler, as was Mohammed in his day. The killing of Christians is a virtue that merits everlasting bliss in paradise. The martyrs of the early Christian church burned with no more consuming ardor than that of the humble, ignorant Mohammedan peasants who swear before the priest that they will go forth and devote their lives to killing Christians. Mohammedans who have sworn to kill Christians are called in the Philippines *iuramentados*, from the Spanish, meaning one who has sworn or taken an oath. Up to a decade ago it was no uncommon occurrence in Jolo for a Moro fanatic to conceal his bolo knife, or *kris*, in a basket of fruit until he had passed the guard at the gate of the walled town, then draw his blade and cut right and left, killing man, woman or child with perfect impartiality until a bullet from the guard stopped his advance. It was this indomitable will to kill that gave the Christian Filipino his mortal fear of the Moro in times past.

The stone forts and watch-towers found today in many of the coast towns of the Philippines are grim reminders of the time when the Moro pirates in their tiny *vintas* (dugouts) swooped down upon these Christian towns of the Visayan Islands, pillaged and burned

and killed and then darted away before the slow-moving Spanish government could mobilize an armed force to attack them. The coming of the steamship in the nineteenth century put a stop to Moro piracy and facilitated the Spanish conquest of the southern islands. The once proud sultanate of Sulu and northeast Borneo now began to decline, but the complete renunciation by the Sultan of his temporal power was not made until 1915.

When the government of Moro Province was put under a civilian governor in January, 1914, the Philippine Commission still had exclusive jurisdiction to legislate for the non-Christian population of the archipelago. In accordance with this authority the Commission passed the Organic Act for the Department of Mindanao and Sulu, which added the pagan province, Agusan, to the Moro province and divided this added area into two provinces, Agusan and Bukidnon. All seven divisions of the department, Agusan, Bukidnon, Cotabato, Davao, Lanao, Sulu and Zamboanga, were constituted provinces with the idea of developing them into regular political subdivisions of the Philippine Islands like the Christian provinces of Luzon and the Visayas. A special department government was created to get these new provinces started and supervise their development until such a time as they could be trained to run the regular elective municipal and provincial governments. In February, 1920, the Philippine Legislature decided that this department government had fulfilled its mission. It was abolished and steps were taken to place the seven new provinces upon the same basis as the regular Christian provinces of the archipelago.

The law creating the subdivisions of the provinces provided that those Moro communities with sufficient intelligence and economic resources should be constituted regular municipalities in accordance with the municipal code for the Christian provinces. The remaining communities of these seven provinces were organized into municipal districts with temporary forms of government that varied from a single *datu*, who rules as municipal district president by virtue of his appointment by the

department governor, to a president and complete council nominally appointed by the department governor on the recommendation of the provincial governor, but in practice elected by the *viva voce* vote of the adult residents of the district. Usually this *datu*, appointed first municipal district president, had actually been ruler in his own right before he had ever heard of the department governor. It is not his intention to allow anyone else to rule his community. However, by appointing him municipal district president and perhaps by giving him power over a larger region than he had controlled before, the people come to accept the idea that he rules not by virtue of his own power and religious position, but because of his appointment by the department governor. Thus, little by little, the people are weaned away from personal government and accustomed to government by that great abstraction, the state.

After this local *datu* is made district presidents the next step is to urge him to correct the evils which are considered by the people to be violations of Mohammedan or Moro customary law. When the *datu* is in doubt on some point or negligent of his duty, a few of the village elders are appointed to assist him and to make him feel the force of local public opinion. In this way the president and council are gradually transformed into an effective organization. All acts of these municipal district governments are subject to the review of the provincial government. The provincial governor spends two-thirds of his time traveling from one district to the other to instruct officials and supervise their activities. In time the popular support given to this improvised municipal district government becomes strong enough to force the dismissal of the *datu*-president, if he neglects his official duties, and a younger, better educated man can be appointed in his place. The deposed president objects, of course, but the *datu* soon ascertains that the new president, backed by the provincial government and a fair amount of local public opinion, is too strong to be ousted. Thus one more reactionary *datu* finds that his personal

power has slipped from under him, and that a new day has dawned in Moroland.

As the people of the community show development in making a wise choice of officials by *viva voce* vote under the supervision of the provincial governor, and as the president and council become more and more accustomed to the routine duties of formal government, the provincial authorities slacken their supervision until the municipal district government is run with approximately the same autonomy as a regular municipality. In this process of evolution two or three municipal districts may be combined because of the increased intercourse between them resulting from the opening up of roads and trails. This combining of several districts into one may so increase the economic resources of the local government as to warrant its transformation into a regular municipality. Every year a number of new municipalities are thus created in the Moro country. It is an inspiring idea, like the creation of new states in the United States.

The law enforced among the Moros is a combination of Moro religious and customary law and Philippine statute law. In cases involving Mohammedan law two learned Moros sit as assessors with the Filipino or American judge and advise him on technical points of the religious law. This judicial administration, representing as it does one of the dividing lines in the separation of church and state, requires great tact and ability. The Mohammedan priest and the American (or Filipino) judge both claim jurisdiction over the same case, and the decision as to which has final jurisdiction determines also whether the church or the state is winning or losing power. A high-handed, tactless judge may precipitate a local religious war very easily. Prior to 1915 neither a Mohammedan nor a pagan was permitted to submit his case to a justice court presided over by a Christian Filipino. Since 1915 both Christians and Mohammedans have been tried by the same judge, whether an American or a Filipino.

Education developed very slowly in Moroland under the military régime. The government of Moro province

lacked the finances, the personnel and the general peace conditions necessary to establish a system of public schools comparable to that of the Christian provinces. A beginning was made, however, almost two decades ago, and though the schools were few and the attendance small, the process of educating the Moors to the public school idea was fairly well accomplished when the first civilian governor took charge in 1914. On January 1, 1915, the public schools of the Department of Mindanao and Sulu were placed directly under the insular bureau of education which had been so successful in developing the magnificent public school system of the Christian provinces. In 1910 there were only 79 teachers in the province of Moro. Of this number only one had completed the intermediate school course. During the school year of 1915-16 there were 175 primary and 5 intermediate schools with a total enrollment of 16,019 pupils and an average attendance of 10,106. The teaching force consisted of 19 Americans, 13 Mohammedans and pagans, and 341 Christian Filipinos. By November, 1919, the public school enrollment had increased to 40,000.

As soon as the Moro schools were placed under the insular bureau of education about a hundred Christian Filipino teachers were sent into the Moro country to open primary schools. This was considered a daring innovation, for it has been the accepted idea for more than three hundred years that the Moros and the Christian Filipinos are incompatible. Less than two decades ago the United States astonished the world by sending 800 American school-teachers into the Philippines to teach modern civilization and self-government to the 8,000,000 Christian Filipinos. Now these same Christian Filipinos are sending almost an equal number (700 in June, 1919) of their own teachers into the pagan and Moro country to carry the fruits of their instruction to the million non-Christian peoples of the interior and southern parts of the archipelago.

Unfortunately, the unit cost of education in this non-Christian territory is considerably higher than in the Christian provinces, both because of the sparseness of

the population and the great distance between schools, and also because the teachers have to be imported at relatively large salaries. The territory occupied by the non-Christian tribes comprises forty per cent of the entire Philippine Islands and contains only one-tenth of the total population. The intention of the Government is so to educate these non-Christians as to make them an integral part of the Philippine body politic, but this will require many times the expenditure of funds that is now being appropriated for public schools in these regions.

The tendency of the Philippine schools to place more and more emphasis on agricultural instruction has been especially strong in the Moro country. The boys, from the first grade up, are taught gardening, seed selection and methods of cultivation. In a few schools the old Moro industry of brass-work is being revived. The girls are taught simple sewing, cooking and other household duties. Both boys and girls have courses in the household industries of hat, basket and mat weaving, lace-making and embroidery. In the Sulu archipelago, where the coral islands afford no facilities for vegetable gardening, the boys are being taught sea-gardening: that is, the planting of sponges and pearl oysters, and the cultivation of the more desirable varieties of trepang. (Trepang is a leechlike animal, highly prized by the Chinese as food.)

The settlement farm school, one of the most successful types of school for this sparsely settled country, is a boarding-school of primary grade in which the pupils spend half time in the classroom and half time in productive work on the school farm. The specific purpose of such a school is to serve as the nucleus for the settlement of the roaming mountain people upon permanent homesteads. The children may be fed and housed at the school, but the parents are induced to settle near the school and are given every encouragement in the tilling of their fields, because these semi-savage people are not easily habituated to steady labor and thrift. During the last ten years one-third of the hill-people have been induced to settle in the valleys or on the plateaus and es-

tablish settlements around these schools, which at present number more than one hundred and fifty.

The most promising Moro youths are sent to the normal school in Manila, the Munoz Agricultural School in central Luzon, and other special schools in the Christian provinces, where they are trained as prospective teachers and at the same time imbued with the culture of the Christian Filipinos. One method of educating the Moro leaders has been to give them trips to Manila and through the Christian provinces, where they are shown the superior comforts and conveniences enjoyed by the Christian Filipinos as the result of education, democratic government and modern commercial and agricultural methods. In Manila the Moro *datu* has his attention called to the luxurious automobiles in which the aristocratic Filipinos ride about the city. Then it is explained to him that he has to walk through the mud and brush when he travels about his community simply because of the lack of education, agricultural development and government control in his province.

School athletics have proved a very effective flank attack on undesirable Moro customs. The entire campaign of playground activities, classroom calisthenics and competitive inter-school athletics, is being introduced into Moroland with all the efficiency and enthusiasm that the bureau of education has developed by its fifteen years of highly successful work in this department in the Christian provinces. On the coral islands of Sulu, where playground facilities are limited, and the chief interest of the people is on the water, baseball give way to *vinta* racing and other aquatic sports. Athletic games and sports among the Moros are proving successful in tearing down social barriers, widening the social horizon, and opening the way for progressive ideas.

As a means of agricultural development, Filipinizing the Moros, and relieving the congestion of population in densely populated areas like Cebu and the Ilocano country, an agricultural colony of about five thousand people, half Moros and half Christian Filipinos, was established in the fertile rice country of Cotabato in 1913. This

province includes the valley of two large rivers and a large lake, which together provide 200 miles of navigation for small craft—a water-system flanked on either side by the most fertile rice-plain in the archipelago and separated from the rich hemp plantations of Davao by the lofty Apo range, which towers to a height of over ten thousand feet. With a population of 150,000, Cotabato, in the heart of the Moro country, still to a considerable extent unexplored, is greater than the combined areas of Vermont, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and New Jersey. A colony of 2,500 Christian Filipinos in this vast and isolated region with 150,000 Mohammedans surrounding them on every side and with 2,500 Moros mingled with them on adjoining homesteads was an interesting experiment, indeed.

The colony has proved a success. The government advanced money, in some cases as much as a thousand pesos to a single family, to finance them until they could begin harvesting their crops. Many of the colonists have already paid back the money borrowed from the government and are now buying land to enlarge their homesteads. The social and business relations between the Moros and the Christian Filipinos have been very friendly. The colony has opened the way for the flow of emigration from the over-populated and unproductive agricultural regions of certain sections of the Christian provinces to the sparsely populated and very fertile regions of Mindanao, where sixteen hectares (forty acres) of the finest farming land are to be had for the asking. By 1918 more than seven thousand colonists had migrated to the fertile valleys of Moroland. Unfortunately, sufficient funds have not been available to finance additional colonies.

The most developed agricultural region of Mindanao is a valley on the Gulf of Davao lying between the country of the Central Mindanao Moros and that of the east coast pagans. A number of American planters, some Europeans and quite a few Japanese have developed here the finest hemp producing plantations in the archipelago. Recently, Japanese capitalists have bought up most of

the plantations in this region. The greatest drawback is the labor supply. The introduction of Japanese labor and Japanese capital has been the interesting development of the last few years. Prior to 1916 only a few hundred Japanese immigrants entered the Philippines each year. In 1916, there were 603; and in 1917, the Japanese immigrants numbered 2,972, an increase of almost 500 per cent in one year. This figure was slightly increased in 1918, according to official reports; while unofficial reports from Mindanao claim that many Japanese are entering Davao by way of small boats from Borneo without the knowledge of the Philippine immigration authorities. This indicates a very definite movement toward increased Japanese immigration into the Philippine Islands that should be watched with care; because the difficulties that are likely to arise between nations would be of more seriousness both for the Philippines and for the United States in the case of the Japanese than with the nationals of any other country, owing to the proximity of Japan to the Philippines, the extreme sensitiveness of the Japanese to any discrimination or fancied discrimination and the strong jingoistic element in Japanese politics. An increase of only 3,000 in the number of Japanese residents seems small as compared with the immigration figures of the United States, but it should be borne in mind that 3,000 Japanese among nine or ten million Filipinos is as great as thirty or thirty-five thousand Japanese among the 100,000,000 population of the United States. The inflow of Japanese to Mindanao, where they purchase the best land, may help to develop the wonderful resources of that region, but it will not assist in the Filipinization of the Mohammedans and pagans or otherwise facilitate the nationalizing of the Philippine peoples.

In the development of roads, trails and public buildings, the provinces of Mindanao and Sulu, because of their vast area, sparse population and social, political and economic backwardness, are fifteen years behind the Christian provinces. Like the western plains of the United States a half century ago, the sparsely populated

region of Mindanao and Sulu must look to the settled regions for its development. In this connection it is important to note that in the Christian provinces public works are hampered by the too rapid Filipinization of the bureau of public works of Mindanao and Sulu. There is no excuse for hampering the development of Mindanao at every turn by putting in poorly trained and incapable Filipino engineers, when first class American engineers may be secured at approximately the same salary.

The typhoons which devastate the Christian provinces to the north and make agricultural investments there so precarious do not sweep so far south as the Moro country. Furthermore, the soil is more fertile in Mindanao, Basilan and Jolo and the climate more favorable for the production of hemp, copra, rice, sugar, rubber and spices than in any other region in the Philippine archipelago. The Government of the United States and the American people are recreant to their obligations and opportunities if they continue to allow the developments of these much-needed resources to hang suspended on the precipice of Philippine politics, when it is obvious to any fair-minded student that the Americans are so infinitely better qualified than the Filipinos to develop the country without arousing the hatred of the Moros.

By ten years of the most severe punishment for the recalcitrants and by painstaking justice and good government for every Moro, the inhabitants of Mindanao and Sulu were prepared by the military government for real civil institutions, public schools and economic development. Although the progress since 1913 has been very encouraging, the potentiality for strife in Moroland is very great and cannot be too strongly emphasized. The expectant quiet of the first two years of civil administration, 1914 and 1915, was disturbed by a definite unrest in 1916. The new Philippine Organic Act, the Jones Bill, passed by Congress August 29, 1916, caused certain Moro leaders to fear that the Christian Filipinos would use this increased autonomy to interfere with the Mohammedan religion in Mindanao and Sulu. This fear was

allayed in part by a personal conference of the Governor General with the Moro leaders and in part by the appointment of Hadji Butu Abdul Baki, the last prime minister of the Sultan of Sulu, as Moro senator in the new Philippine Senate, and the appointment of two prominent *datus* of Mindanao to the Philippine House of Representatives, where they were permitted to take the oath of office on the Koran.

In 1917, when it became definitely known that the United States troops were to be withdrawn from Mindanao and Sulu, trouble arose which mere words could not dispel. Among other things a constabulary post was raided in the Cotabato mountains, and resistance to government authority became so bitter and so well organized in the Lake Lanao region, Pershing's old stamping-ground, that its suppression required a considerable military operation involving several companies of constabulary, a battery of United States mountain artillery and a reserve force of United States troops. The complete extermination of the few fanatical leaders made a very deep impression on the ostensibly peaceful Moros of the surrounding region.

In addition to the loss of the United States troops from the southern islands of the Philippines, most of the trained American and Filipino personnel of the constabulary has been lost through Filipinization, politics and the demands of the World War. In consideration of these facts the very conservative governor of Mindanao and Sulu, in his report to the Governor General in 1918, characterized the public order situation in Moroland as "one of great present potentialities." The general Moro situation was summarized as follows in the report of the Governor General of the Philippines for 1917:

"The present generation of Mohammedans and pagans is now disposed to peace and is loath to incur liability to further punishment by the armed forces of Government. The boys of school age of today will, within a very few years, be the men constituting the control factor for or against peace and good order. * * * If the fathers become, in the near future, permanently located on their

own land, with documentary evidence of ownership * * * and if the children of today be given the school opportunities their parents desire for them * * * the expenditure of the large sums of federal and insular funds and the great sacrifice of lives which has been made in Mindanao and Sulu during the past eighteen years will not have been in vain, nor will it have to be made anew. If, however, Government administration here be dependent wholly upon inadequate insular aid and the exceedingly meagre present revenues of the as yet embryo provincial and municipal governments, then, in less than ten years from now, when a new generation, grown up without civilizing influences * * * will have come into control of public opinion in this region, the maintenance of public order will again present problems requiring large expenditures of lives and of public funds by the armed forces of Government. Then, whatever there has been of progress in the accumulation of wealth, the social betterment of the people, and other benefits of civilization, will inevitably in great part be destroyed."

The Christian Filipinos who have gone into the Moro country to teach civilization and democracy to these fanatical Mohammedans are deserving of great credit. They are doing what they can, and are relatively better paid than American teachers in the Philippine service ever were. But they lack the education, racial prestige, force of character and detachment from Philippine politics and from local issues between Moros and resident Filipinos which make an American official invaluable. In the many conflicts of every sort which are arising and will continue to arise between the Mohammedans, the pagans and the Christian Filipinos, the American official is the acceptable arbitrator to both sides because he is obviously a disinterested third party. The Christian Filipino official either is partisan or is credited with partisanship. Either way, his mediation tends to make for suspicion and discord.

It is encouraging indeed to hear that the Philippine legislators, presumably with all the facts before them,

have decided that progress in Moroland has been so great as to warrant the abolition of the department government within six years of its organization and the placing of the seven Moro provinces upon an elective basis. It is a happy portent for the future that Butu has asked that the term "Moro" be dropped and all native inhabitants of the Philippines be called Filipinos. It is not so encouraging to hear that Hadji Butu's request for the retention of Governor Carpenter in the Moro government was not granted, and to note that twelve new companies of constabulary are being organized, seven of them to be sent to Mindanao and Sulu.

There is strong possibility of the complete Filipinization of the Moros and of the development of one unified, self-governing people in the Philippine Islands, if the present policy of haste in democratizing the government of the Moro provinces does not prove disastrous. It is not good sense to turn over a large business requiring education and experience to a young man who has neither qualification, but merely wants to try his spurs and vindicate his conceit. It is equally bad judgment to turn over the Moro provinces to untrained Filipinos and uneducated Moro voters in a frantic effort to demonstrate the self-governing ability of the Filipinos and the achievements of Governor General Harrison before the presidential election in the United States next fall. Teaching Christians and Mohammedans to live peaceably together under a democratic government has too direct a bearing upon the all-important problem of world peace to be used as a plaything in the game of Philippine or American politics.

Toledo, Ohio.

O. GARFIELD JONES.

A FELLOWSHIP OF FAITH FOR MOSLEMS

There is a force in the world today which brings us into touch with one Jehovah God and which makes all things possible to us. This force is faith. We are apt to regard faith as an intangible thing, but if we did but realize it, it is scarcely less tangible than electricity. As we understand the laws that govern the electric current, as we learn the lines upon which it will work, so do we have before our eyes certain proofs of its power and we are able to harness it to fulfill our behests. Faith too has its laws, faith too is an active, working force and it is possible to apply it to the crying needs of our own day and generation and to have ocular demonstration of what it can do.

The Bible magnifies the value of the individual in God's sight and shows that the faith of one man can accomplish miracles, but it also shows that it is in a fellowship of faith that faith can be most productive, and it is to a fellowship of faith that many of the most exalted promises are made. "If *ye* (plural) have faith as a grain of mustard seed, *ye* shall say unto this mountain, Remove hence to yonder place; and it shall remove; and nothing shall be impossible unto *you* (Matt. 17:29)." This is a promise to faith, united, active and aggressive. It is in a living fellowship that mountain-removing-faith is to be found.

Again hear what the Master says: "Verily, I say unto you, Whatsoever *ye* (plural) shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever *ye* shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven." Again I say unto you, "That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching anything that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven" (Matt. 18: 18, 19). Unless prayer is the voice of faith it is but a meaningless repetition of words or a form of moral, spiritual or intellectual gymnastics, but prayer that arises

from a living fellowship of faith, yea, when that fellowship consists of only two members, is, our Lord teaches us, a power in heaven and on earth. God the Father graciously undertakes to do for such a fellowship anything that they shall ask.

The Bible teems with illustrations of the actual working value of faith and fellowship combined. Was it not a fellowship of faith that overthrew Jericho! What was Gideon's little band of three hundred but a fellowship of faith? What was Jehoshaphat's army as it went out against Ammon, Moab and Seir but a fellowship of faith, with the words "Believe in the Lord your God" ringing in their ears and the song of praise upon their lips? Pass to the New Testament and see that little group of intercessors pleading with God for the Apostle Peter. Prison, chains, four quaternions of soldiers, the wrath of Herod, certain death confronting him, "*But Prayer*" (Acts 12:5)! A fellowship of faith, humble believers whose faith was indeed but as a grain of mustard seed, pleading with God in the background and where now are the soldiers, the chains, the keepers, the prison doors? Heavenly forces have been put in motion, *God has moved*, and the miracle is accomplished fact.

It has been the writer's glad privilege to witness spiritual movement in more than one place in answer to the united persistent pleading with God of a company of His believing people. Nothing seems impossible to such a fellowship, they know that faith does but pave the way for the Almighty God to work, they rely upon His promises, they plead them before His throne, and they are confident that the answer to their petitions, though it tarry, will surely come. They abound in hope by the power of the Holy Ghost and there is no situation too dark and difficult for them to face because there is nothing too hard for their God.

That is the ideal we have set before us as we bind ourselves into a fellowship of faith for the Moslems. For its exercise faith must have an objective. It must be applied to specific cases—it must be focused or its full value will never be appreciated, and as we stand face

to face with the great Moslem world we have an objective worthy of our metal. Islam defies our King, denies His divinity, scoffs at His Cross and declares He did not die. It is a great system in more ways than one but it is a system of darkness and of error. Faith enables us to realize that there are forces behind all this in the invisible realm, "world-rulers of this darkness," that it is possible by united prayer to deal with these "world-rulers." If on earth by prayer we bind these invisible powers, in heaven God will bind them and we shall see the darkness lifting and the light of the glory of God in the face of the Crucified One dawning in many Moslem hearts.

Members of a fellowship of faith for the Moslems must believe implicitly in the ultimate, absolute triumph of the Cross over the Crescent. Christ is their Head—all power is His in heaven and on earth, and "He must reign till He hath put all enemies under His feet." Islam is Christ's enemy—Islam is destined to lick the dust before Him. When or how that final triumph will come who shall say, but as we go forth against this false system we have the assurance that we are on the winning side and so we can praise for victory "Before the vaunting foe is dead."

Each living member of a fellowship of faith for the Moslems may also rest assured of the fact that every effort to enlighten the darkness of Islam, every prayer offered, every sacrifice made is telling towards that glorious consummation. Hidden he may be, feeble he may seem, but his labor is not in vain in the Lord. So divers going down to lay mines beneath a dangerous rock toil day after day in loneliness and discomfort and see no result for their labours. The great rock seems as steadfast as ever, as menacing to life and property, but the day comes when the last diver has done his work, the last connecting link is made and by the slightest touch an infant can blow the mighty structure to pieces. So let us not despise the day of small things when no results are visible. The tiny prayer-meeting, two or three gathered to pray for the Moslems, the young missionary struggling

to express in imperfect Arabic something of a heavenly Father's love to a group of indifferent or opposing people, all such efforts are in the plan, all are vital and important. May we realize it until the full glory of it dawns upon our souls. The very angels in heaven might well covet our seemingly humble opportunities of service. As we pray, as we give, as we go, may we be conscious that this is our Divinely appointed task and that we may claim and receive Divine equipment for it, and that it is leading up to the final overthrow of this false religion, and that in it all we are "labourers together with God."

May our fellowship be pulsating with life and hopefulness, may our faith "grow exceedingly," and in our great task may we stand shoulder to shoulder, believing to see the glory of the Lord in all Moslem lands.

London.

JENNIE B. LOGAN.

METHODS OF EVANGELISM IN PERSIA

In discussing this subject it is necessary to keep in mind that more than ninety-five per cent of the people of Persia are Moslems; that the Government is, or at least professes to be, strictly Mohammedan, even the new National Constitution being absolutely plain in its statement that Shiah Islam is the religion of the land; that the only code of laws is the Law of Islam, and the death penalty for apostasy an unchanged part of it. On the other hand there is a spirit of toleration among large numbers of Persians that is perhaps not equaled in any other distinctly Moslem country.

Geographically, Persia is rather a large country, and methods of work vary in different parts to suit different conditions. This article deals especially with evangelistic work in those parts of Persia where I have resided and with which I am really familiar, namely the Teheran and Resht fields. These fields combined occupy the central northern section of Persia, including the capital, the chief Caspian provinces with their ports, and some of the chief provinces of Central Persia; and missionary work in them is, I believe, typical of the whole. In both these stations there has been educational and medical work as well as evangelistic. In the broader usage of the word *evangelistic work* has been done in connection with schools, hospitals and dispensaries. In this article we are considering evangelistic work irrespective of whether it is done through the institutions or independent of them; and the term *evangelistic work* does not mean all forms of religious activity, but "the preaching and promulgation of the Gospel."

Our discussion naturally falls into two general divisions: (1) Permanent evangelistic work, or work done in those cities where there are established Stations, and (2) Itineration.

I. PERMANENT EVANGELISTIC WORK. As in most

fields, the public preaching of the Gospel is among the chief methods. Even converts from Islam are not debarred from a share in this method; for there are a few converted Mohammedans who openly and fearlessly preach the Gospel in public services. The doors are open to all, large numbers of Moslems are sometimes in attendance; every one knows who these men are, that they were Mohammedans, and are now Christians; and they preach Christ with no uncertain sound. In Teheran the first service Sunday morning is evangelistic. Usually a missionary preaches the sermon, sometimes an Armenian or Jewish Christian, sometimes a convert from Islam. In this service the invitation is often given for those who so desire to meet the preacher or other Christians for personal conversation either immediately after the service or by appointment. At various times we have held evangelistic services on Fridays. But we get more Moslems on Sunday than on Friday. No doubt one reason for this is that the Moslem is less conspicuous going to a Christian service on the Christian Sunday than on the Moslem Friday. It is easier to give a plausible answer to the inquiries of curious acquaintances.

The Sunday school is an important evangelistic agency peculiarly fitted to conditions in Persia. The Teheran Sunday School last year had twenty-two classes and an average attendance of 206. Most of these classes used the International Lessons. In others the teachers arranged their own courses. One class for English-speaking young men cut loose entirely from the usual Sunday school methods. This class was conducted in a room entirely separate from, though near, the chapel or Sunday school room. The teacher became a leader. Christian men visiting Teheran were invited to address the class. Among these were Mr. Robinson of the Near East Relief Committee, Mr. Sarcka of the Mesopotamian Y. M. C. A., and Mr. Pennings of the Arabian Mission, and others. Following the address there was usually opportunity for other short addresses, questions and discussion. Some of the subjects were "Christ's Challenge to Young Men," "What Christianity Has Done for America," and

"What Christ Has Done for Me." This last-named subject gave opportunity for personal testimony which was used with great power. There were about forty men in the class that day, about one-half of whom were Moslems. Most of these were greatly surprised and impressed when a young man who had been first a pupil in the school at the Mission, and subsequently a teacher, arose and stated that he had for a long time been a believer in Christ, but had been unwilling to let it be known while he was either a pupil or teacher in the school lest someone should think he had an ulterior motive. But now, that he had no relationship to the school except that of a friend, he wished to confess his faith, and to state that his life was henceforth dedicated to the service of Christ. He has since come to America to study medicine in order to fit himself for better service to Christ in Persia.

Informal "parlor meetings" constitute another common method. For a number of years, perhaps ten, one of the oldest converts from Islam in Teheran has conducted such a meeting weekly in his house. Sometimes he requests other Christians to assist him in the conduct of these meetings. More often he conducts them himself. Usually an entire afternoon or evening is given to a meeting which is entirely informal. Selections from the Bible are read and explained; there is opportunity for questions and general discussion. In accord with Persian custom tea is always served. Similar meetings are held in the homes of missionaries and Persians, some for men and some for women.

Another method is the "group meeting." An illustration of this may be seen in the "Brotherhood" conducted by Mrs. Jordan, in Teheran, for boys of the school. Assisted by a committee of Christian boys she conducts a weekly evangelistic meeting. Usually an address is given by some speaker invited for the occasion. Sometimes there are two or three short talks by the boys themselves. The climax is reached whenever a boy arises in the meeting and makes his first confession of faith in Christ.

But perhaps the most important method of all is that of "personal work." In this the Persians are experts.

The obligation to do personal work is constantly urged in the Christian meetings. Personal work classes are conducted, especially small classes of four or five banded together for actual work.

II. ITINERATION. Certain conditions in Persia make itineration difficult—scattered population, slow and expensive methods of transportation, and fanaticism in the provinces and out-districts. In general three forms of itineration have been used: (1) medico-evangelistic, in which a physician and an evangelist travel together or the physician is the evangelist, (2) colportage-evangelistic, in which the selling of Scriptures is made prominent, and (3) evangelistic only, in which preaching, and reading and explaining of Scripture are the only methods used. I have had a part in all three. Each has advantages; each disadvantages.

In the assignment of itinerating circuits in the Teheran field the circuit which has been assigned to me consists of the two Caspian provinces—Mazenderan and Asterabad and the Central Persian districts of Semnan, Demghan and Shahrood. The length of the entire circuit is about three hundred and forty miles, and the average width about one hundred, giving an area of about 34,000 square miles, or an equivalent of the combined areas of Massachusetts, Rhode Island, Delaware, New Jersey and Maryland. In this entire area there are no resident missionaries and no native evangelists; the only form of Christian work carried on is itineration. The population is variously estimated from one to two millions. The last time I was able to visit this circuit was in the spring and summer of 1917. I was accompanied by an American colporteur of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and a convert from Islam. Four mules, a horse and a donkey carried us, our two tents and journey outfit, and about seven hundred copies of the Bible, New Testament and portions of Scripture. Our general method of procedure was, upon entering a city or village, to put up our tents in some conspicuous place with all possible speed, and arrange our effects. These operations usually attracted a considerable crowd. Immediately

we would offer Scriptures for sale, usually the missionary and one of the Persians would go at once to the business part of the community and sell books, while the other Persian would remain in camp, sell Scriptures, talk informally with the crowd, and start preparations for the next meal. The tents, the appearance of the foreigner in the bazaar, and the copies of Scripture sold were the best possible methods of advertising. Men came to the camp, sometimes in groups, sometimes in crowds. In the late afternoons the missionary usually sat on a low box in front of his tent, with Scriptures exhibited for sale on his folding cot, and two or three small pieces of carpet for the first comers to sit on. Later arrivals sat on the ground, and still later stood behind. In Barferush these afternoon gatherings began with about twenty on the first day, and reached about two hundred by the fifth. For one, two, or three hours the missionary read and explained Scripture, "told the story," heard and answered questions while his two companions moved about the crowd with books in their hands, and incidentally kept a close watch on the tents and their contents.

Of course there was opposition. In Amol a man in the bazaar told the colporteur that a crowd would visit us that night and all three of us would be hanged. Our camp was on the city common, absolutely unprotected. That night, as usual, we committed ourselves and our camp to Him Who never slumbers, and lay down, slept soundly and awoke in peace. In Barferush we were warned to leave the city within four hours otherwise the Persian Cossacks would "pour themselves upon our heads." We did not hasten our departure, and were not molested. Later we learned that the officer in charge of the Cossacks had heard of the threat and had advised his men not to carry it out.

Our ideal has been the methods of the Apostles, trusting that by the blessing of God the results may be a Church truly apostolic in faith and zeal.

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A SURVEY OF ISLAM IN CHINA *

The entry of Mohammedanism into the Far East, its growth among the Chinese, and its present status in the Republic, are perplexing problems to the investigator. When did the first preachers of Islam enter China? is still a much-disputed point, monuments, inscriptions, and authorities differ so greatly that the impartial student, despairing of getting down to bed-rock fact, is likely to concur in Broomhall's conclusion: "The story of the very early entry of Islam into China cannot be accepted as trustworthy." Tombs much venerated exist at Canton and Yangchow (Ku.) and are claimed as the resting-places of two of the early propagators of Islam in this land.

If the entry of Islam into China is a much-debated problem, the method of its progress is equally a problem. The map that illustrates this paper makes clear that from north to south, and from east to west, important groups of Moslems are found dotted over the Republic of China. The occupation, speaking generally, was effected peacefully: "the sword of Mohammed" has been little known outside three or four provinces. How came Islam to its present position? How came these settlements of "the faithful" in twenty-two provinces, and even in districts in Mongolia and Tibet? It is most probable that through the chief trading-routes its merchants pressed forward in those early days much as they do today. The Moslem soldiers from the west, who by Imperial permission took to themselves wives of Chinese stock after having rendered special service to this land, must also be taken into account. The intermarriage with non-Moslem stock—the Mohammedans taking, but only in the most rare cases ever giving a Moslem bride to an "unbeliever" has undoubtedly been an important factor in the progress of this religion in China.

* This is Section X: 2 of the new Survey of China prepared by the China Continuation Committee and published separately here by special permission.—Ed.

But if the date of entry, and the method of propagation are problems, the present status of Islam in China is a problem still more difficult to solve. Several attempts have been made to arrive at the actual number of Moslems, but the investigators have been forced to admit that there is not yet adequate data for a satisfactory estimate. "What about the Chinese census?" some may ask. The reply is, China has neither the desire for, nor the machinery adequate to make, a reliable census. Attempts have been made in some centers with more or less success, but should any attempt be made to take a national census, multitudes would resist it most stoutly, believing with just cause, that it foreshadowed increased taxation.

It may then be asked, on what foundation do the figures in the present survey rest? On the best data possible under existing limitations. The figures of earlier investigators have been checked and corroborated, or modified in the light of more recent data. Others have labored and we have entered into their labors. But more than this has been done. A three-fold inquiry has also been made in order to get the most reliable statistics. One questionnaire was sent to missionaries, a second to foreign officials, and the third to carefully selected Chinese scholars in touch with the Moslem population. Owing to the proneness of human nature to over-statement, underestimating, or pure guess work—infirmities by no means confined to Westerners—estimates have been checked and re-checked, where possible, in the interest of approximate accuracy. Some of the data now presented to the Church of Jesus Christ has meant not a little patient toil on the part of hard-pressed, overworked missionaries. Some of the figures have been obtained from friendly Mohammedan leaders who had visited the chief centers in a certain province to raise funds for the erection of new mosques. They were asked in to a friendly meal, and were able and willing to give most useful data from first hand knowledge.

But having said so much a word of caution must be added. While it is true that a definite attempt has been

made to secure and to present the actual conditions, the results, we must confess, are still far from satisfactory. Three reasons may be given for this dissatisfaction:

1. Mission stations in China, especially those in Moslem districts, are frequently so undermanned and so isolated that the workers on the field, already in some cases doing the work of two people, have little time to spare for personal investigation as to the Moslems.

2. It must be remembered that today (in 1920) there are still districts in China without any messenger of the Cross. Moslem survey work in such centers is difficult.

3. Certain districts in China, owing to political strife resulting in grave lawlessness, have not been investigated. Rival factions have created such conditions that ordinary work has had to be suspended. The destruction of much (Chinese) property, the loss of many (Chinese) lives, and the reign of terror following, have rendered careful investigation impossible.

Bearing these facts in mind, it will be understood that the present figures (like all previous attempts) are only approximate, and do not cover the whole field of Moslem influence. We believe the statement will *not* be found to err on the side of exaggeration. But taken as an incomplete survey of the Moslem faith in China, it sounds forth a call to the whole Church of Christ; it is a call to prayer, to consecration, and to service. And this call is clear, urgent and personal.

The figures given as approximate are ten millions of Moslems in China. Owing to the very meager data that has come in from several provinces, we shall do well to taken "ten millions" as a conservative estimate. The strategic centers should be specially noted, and adequate provision made for local and itinerant work throughout each district. When these strategic centers have workers set apart for the Moslem people, they should be adequately sustained, and should become the basis of far-reaching effort to make Christ known to these special people.

The Chinese Moslems as far as we know them are Sunnis. This corresponds with statements made by the Moslems themselves: "there are no Shiah in China."

The "Old" and the "New" seem to indicate "conservative" and "progressive" rather than any other alignment. They certainly do not indicate "Sunni" and "Shiah" as some have thought. There is a very strong Sufi influence in China. Persian books are common, especially among the leading *Ahongs*. One constantly comes across *Ahongs* who are genuinely pious, and who practice Sufi methods.

As a whole the Chinese Moslems represent a Confucianized type. They are with few exceptions (such as those in Sinkiang and Kansu) very different from the Moslem in the Near East. This means that the approach is a double one—that is, religious and social. Religiously, they are Moslems, socially they are Chinese Moslems. This does not mean that they do not observe Moslem social rules, but that these rules have been considerably modified through contact with Chinese ideas. It will also be noted that the Chinese Moslems in conduct follow in the paths of the non-Moslem Chinese in their district; where opium-smoking, wine-drinking, and lawless conduct is common (as seen in Szechuan, Shensi, etc.,) the bulk of the "faithful" are not a whit behind the idolaters. Some of the most severe condemnation of their evil ways has come from the lips of their own *mullahs*, one of whom sadly and frankly confessed he had no possible plan to raise his people.

It is an accepted fact that Chinese Moslems are more approachable than their fellow-religionists in other lands. One of the reasons why more of them have not been won for Christ is that missionaries have not had the time to go after them. The vast number of non-Moslem Chinese have claimed their attention.

While a few have taken high places as scholars, as a whole the Chinese Moslems have not paid much attention to education, but as will be seen in another paragraph they are now seeking to alter this state of things. As soldiers they have excelled and made a great name for themselves. As merchants they do well not only following the main trade routes, but penetrating dangerous and difficult centres, (such as Tibet); and in transport,

by road and water, they are much in evidence; fearless, resourceful, and physically "fit," the Chinese Moslem thrives. In farming they have not yet made great strides. The Moslems in the north possess many animals, but if reports are true—and we cannot doubt them—their animals cost them little, but their rightful owners much! In office, Moslems have frequently held the reins firmly and won the good opinion of all law-abiding folk, while to the evil-doer they have indeed been a terror. It may be noted that in earlier days when it was almost impossible to rent premises for mission work from the Chinese, several stations were occupied through Mohammedan owners of property coming forward and risking all consequences, renting their premises to Protestant missionaries. It may also be recorded that in the Boxer year, (1900) two missionaries in East China owed their escape in safety to the coast, to the friendly and timely arrangement made by a Moslem official after the Chinese official had failed to help them out of a dangerous situation.

Certain writers have maintained that the Chinese Moslem can rarely be picked out from the non-Moslem stock. This is not correct; the following testimony may be accepted as reliable: "With regard to Moslems of the Arabian and Persian stock I should most certainly affirm that with few exceptions caused through much Chinese intermarriage, they retain their decided and distinct features, which can be instantly recognized by any foreigner whose eye has been sufficiently educated in things Oriental to distinguish, say, one Chinaman from another. This holds true also of the Salar, (Turki Moslems from Central Asia)." (Report from Kansu.)

"While it may not be possible in every case to differentiate between a Moslem and the ordinary Chinese, yet in the majority of cases the physiognomy is quite distinct. The Moslem may often be recognized by his oval face, aquiline nose, heavy beard, stubby moustache, (clipped flush with the upper lip for the exact length of the mouth) and his peculiar accent, etc." (Report from Szechuan.)

Similar testimony could be given from Yunnan, Hon-

an, Chihli and other centers of Moslem influence. The Mohammedan as a rule can be easily distinguished by the careful observer. As to customs: theoretically there is a difference between Chinese and Moslem in social matters such as divorce, polygamy, slavery, etc., but practically there is not much difference. While they believe that it is right and proper for a Moslem to have four wives at one time, as a matter of fact, with the common people, the bread and butter argument forbids any such practice. In Kansu and Sinkiang there is far more license in these matters, but in the other provinces there is less polygamy and divorce. Among the wealthy, both Chinese and Moslem, it is a mark of standing to have more than one wife. As to slavery: if there is a difference it would appear to be in the motive rather than in anything else. With the Chinese, a matter of convenience, with the Moslem-Chinese, not only convenience, but addition to the ranks of "the faithful." In general morality the testimony is conclusive that "they run neck and neck."

Experienced workers report that except for activity in the matter of better educational facilities, no distinctive Moslem reform movements have been seen. Among progressive Moslems there is the feeling that something must be done, but apart from the publication of a few Moslem journals, some of which never reached the second issue, there is nothing to be reported. Appeals have been issued to close the ranks and stand solid for a united Islam, but the sharp differences between the "Old," the "New," and the "New New" sects, have thus far prevented the fusion desired.

In the past, there has been much illiteracy among the Chinese Moslems, and today in many districts this condition still prevails. Recently, however, considerable activity has been noted, showing that the Mohammedans are awakening to the necessity of providing educational privileges for their people. A serious attempt is being made to deal with the problem of illiteracy, and word has come from many centers of schools being opened for Moslem children where Chinese and Arabic are now taught.

The importance of this movement should not be overlooked. It means the opening of "eyegate" to many who have dwelt in darkness; it means a great increase in the number who in the providence of God will soon be able to read for themselves; it also means that far more Christian literature, suitable and specially prepared for Chinese Moslem *must* be made available without delay. Other literature is flooding this land. It is now for the Church of Christ to see that Christian literature, suitable for the children as well as for the adults, is prepared for Moslem readers. The present movement toward giving a suitable education to their illiterates is profoundly significant! It shows that God is opening up new doors of approach. Shall we not enter with His Truth?

It is not known how many there are in China with a good knowledge of Arabic, but it is beyond a doubt that there are men well versed in both Arabic and Persian. This fact was known years ago. In 1917 Dr. Zwemer visited China, and after personal touch with Moslem leaders, emphasized the fact. Statements to the contrary, implying that Chinese *mullahs* cannot understand Arabic, should be accepted with reserve. They are usually made by those who have not had the opportunity to investigate the matter personally. The correct view is as follows: some *mullahs* have only a very limited knowledge of the language of their sacred books; some can read and explain their own books, but are not able to understand the unvowelled Arabic Christian books. There is a third class, however, who can read, write and understand Arabic both as found in their own books and in Christian books. Men of this class are found, in small numbers, it is true, but found they are, all over China. Arabic Scriptures, Chinese-Arabic (Diglot) Gospels, and Christian literature from the Nile Mission Press, are in increasing use in China among the Moslems who read and can understand what they read. In view of misleading reports that are abroad—based doubtless on limited knowledge of this important subject—the following information may help to a true view of the situation. Missionaries have borne witness that the use of Arabic literature has opened the door

to personal touch with *mullahs* with whom previously they had no point of contact. Requests have been received for copies of any new Christian publication in Arabic, and applications for grants of such as were already available. Manuscripts in Arabic, the work of Chinese *mullahs*, have been received, and forwarded to Cairo for suitable reply. Some of these manuscripts have dealt trenchantly with Christian belief and required very careful answering. The testimony of friends in Egypt, should be noted: "The manuscripts are ably prepared and well written." One more statement may be added. In December, 1919, an order for a number of Arabic books came to hand from a well-read Chinese *mullah*, who requested his Christian friend to kindly forward the order to a certain Mohammedan bookshop in Cairo. In view of the above facts any statements belittling the knowledge of Arabic possessed by the leaders of Islam in China may surely now be "scrapped."

Not alone in the matter of increased facilities for education, but in the building of new mosques there is evidence that Chinese Mohammedans are by no means asleep. From Kansu, Chihli and Yunnan, three important provinces, new mosques are reported. Some of these erections have cost large sums; some have provision for the "Call to Prayer" to be made according to Moslem usage. Another sign of activity is seen in the opening of small mosques for Moslem women, where trained women teachers give instruction. So far these have been reported from only four provinces—Kiangsu, Shensi, Honan and Shantung. There may possibly be some in other provinces, but they have not yet been discovered.

The rule seems to be that *Ahongs* or *mullahs* are trained in small number in various centers rather than in large number at one center. But this is not invariably the case, as certain large mosques have a goodly number of young men preparing for the office of *mullah*. No data is forthcoming as to the number of such students but in view of the number of mosques where training is in progress the total must be considerable.

The world unrest during the past few years has pre-

vented Chinese Moslems from making the Pilgrimage. Some have tried but failed to obtain consular signed passports owing to conditions in the Nearer East. The great expense has in the past also hindered many from the journey, but those who have visited Mecca (some three or four times) have been accorded a high place in local Moslem circles. It would not be amiss if something could be done to reach Chinese pilgrims en route to and from Mecca in the coming years.

On the subject of strategic centres we are able to speak with a fair amount of confidence. The chief centers of Moslem influence are indicated but only the chief ones. Influential groups of Mohammedans are frequently found in country districts, and these must not be forgotten. Let the important centers first be provided for, then the smaller groups can be considered. It will be found, with few exceptions, that provincial capitals are favored with a considerable Moslem population. Numerically, and influentially, the Moslems at such centers have a very definite position. It will be found too, that these provincial capitals have generally not a few missionaries at work, but few, if any, giving special attention to the Moslem population. This state of things *must* be changed. The list of centers is commended to the Mission Boards in the homelands. It will be seen that to place one worker in each of these strategic centers, and to open up work in the two unoccupied Moslem districts where no missionary has yet learned the dialect, and to appoint one lady worker for the Moslem women and one for the children, would mean twenty-four missionaries. It should, however, be remembered that "open doors" when neglected are apt to close. The Head of the Church has set before us "an open door" in China for every class of work, Moslem included. The response we make not only affects millions of souls; it will inevitably react upon ourselves. The responsibility rests with us to give the Bread of Life to these hungry ones.

It can hardly be emphasized too much that all work among the Chinese Moslems is in its infancy, but of all classes the women and children are the most neglected.

The homes are still practically untouched. If this is the case in the large cities, how much more is it true in the country districts where the bulk of the Moslem population is found.

Every sign points to the great opportunity to reach numbers of Moslems who are more plastic than hitherto known. If the full Gospel of God's Grace is presented in a brotherly spirit, and a ministry of real friendship is steadily maintained, the outlook is bright and promising. If blighting criticism is allowed to take the field, the issue is sure to be hardening of Moslem hearts and the closing of Moslem doors. Christ, the divine Saviour, the only Mediator between a Holy God and the helpless sinner, is the message that grips and abides. If workers among Moslems preach any other Gospel than the Gospel of God's Grace as shown forth in the Crucified and Risen Saviour, they will inevitably fail to reach the Mohammedan.

It may not be out of place to offer some suggestions to Mission Boards to whom this survey is earnestly commended.

1: Make provision for organized work among Moslems in the districts where your missionaries are already at work. To neglect the Mohammedan population because of the pressure of other work is a fatal mistake.

2: When choosing your next deputation to China, consider the advisability of appointing one who knows Islam, and the best way to reach its followers.

3: If possible avoid the mistake already made in some fields, through appointing ex-Moslem preachers to non-Moslem work, because of "their especial fitness for such work." One writer on this subject admitting the mistake made added, "it was because the ex-Moslem Christian was the best man that he was so often appointed to non-Moslem work." This policy may be good for the non-Moslem population, but it is unfair to the Moslem people.

4: Where there is a considerable Moslem population in a given field and no worker can be set apart for their special need, encourage the missionaries to give at least some portion of time to regular work on behalf of the Moslems. In this way, each force—Medical, Evangelistic, Educational, etc., will be able to contribute something to help the neglected Mohammedans to Christ.

5: If in your Chinese work you have any strong Moslem centre, it might be well to consider the question of making definite appointment to specialized work. A year at Cairo would be very helpful to the one appointed to do Moslem work.

6: As the Chinese Moslem women and children are such a neglected

class, might it not be well to appoint a women's committee (at home or on the field) to deal with this subject?

7: Mission Boards contemplating opening up new work in China are asked to definitely consider the great, lonely, neglected, Northwest, where so many Chinese Moslems are waiting for the bearers of "Good Tidings." Kansu and Sinkiang may be hard fields, difficult of access; they may require heavy expenditure of time and toil; but they are within our Lord's command "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." They can be evangelized. They *must* be evangelized. It is ours to say "they *shall* be evangelized!"

APPENDIX I

CENTRES THAT SHOULD HAVE A WORKER SET APART FOR MOSLEM WORK

PEKING—Officially, educationally, and in its close touch with the great Moslem world, Peking is placed first on the list of centers that should have special attention. In and quite near to the city there are thirty-six mosques, and in one of these (the Chiao-tzu-hu-t'ung mosque) will be found the headquarters of the Forward Educational Moslem Movement. Some five years ago, hundreds of Moslems, from all the northern provinces except Kansu, gathered in Peking to launch this movement in the interests of their faith. The Moslem population of Peking is by no means clearly established, as estimates vary considerably. But it is safe to say thirty-five to forty thousand, with a large population in the country around.

TIENTSIN—Thirteen mosques in and near to Tientsin, and twenty thousand Moslem families is the latest data to hand. This city has close touch with Peking, and new Moslem publications are issued from this center fairly frequently. Tientsin is one of the great cities of China where golden opportunities are being lost for want of reapers. As in Peking there are able readers of Arabic found here.

NANKING—This far-famed city whose walls are twenty-five miles in circumference, has still a considerable Moslem population, and if the political center should change (as some predict), Nanking may well regain its lost glory. At present there are some twenty-seven mosques, and although many are small, a turn in the political situation may lead to the return of Moslem families, and, as in some other centres, the rebuilding on a larger scale of the old places of worship. We should say that Islam at Nanking is at a low ebb, but this is just the time to plan for definite Christian work. *Mullehs* from other provinces: (Kansu, Honan, Shantung, and Yunnan) are doing their best to revive "the faithful." One of these friendly *mullehs* admitted his mosque was small, but added, "It has not been long opened, and we are planning to build a larger one." Five thousand families of Moslems are officially reported at this center.

TSINAN—The capital of Shantung is rapidly growing in importance, and being in close touch by rail with the centres already mentioned, is bound to claim increasing attention. There are two large and six small mosques and four thousand Moslem homes. In this province special instruction is being given to some Moslem women in their own mosques not included in the above figures.

KAIFENG—This province needs special provision in view of its Moslem population and its extensive roots. With three hundred mosques known, and its many centres for training *mullehs*, its women's mosques,

and many primary (Moslem) schools, it should be made the object of much prayer. When Dr. Zwemer visited China (1917) it was from this province that a warning note was sent out. As the key to distant conservative Kansu, and within reach of Shensi province where Islam has as yet been little touched, this province of Honan must have special attention. Its capital, Kaifeng, with seven mosques for men, and eight for women, more than thirty *mullahs*, and some one hundred and twenty in preparation for such posts, its three thousand five hundred Mohammedan families, and schools for (Moslem) boys and girls should have a picked worker set apart to reach this people. In 1917 this fact was emphasized at the Conference with Dr. Zwemer, but in 1920 the situation is still the same, no one having yet been definitely appointed.

SIAN—This city has a special interest to workers among Moslems, as being one of the early centres of Islam in China. Today there are eight mosques, each with its own school of the prophets, and some twenty thousand Moslems. A report from this city dated Feb. 1920 from the one worker who has been in touch with its Moslems but has now been called off to other pressing work states, "I do not remember one occasion in the three months' residence here when a Moslem refused to receive a tract. If some one could be appointed to this work I'm sure results would follow. It should be some one who has a special call to Mohammedan work."

CHENG TU—The capital of Szechuan has suffered much through civil strife, but the Moslems still are an important factor in this city. They have eleven mosques, and some well-read, able *mullahs*. They themselves estimate two thousand three hundred families are followers of Islam, but we are inclined to think the estimate a low one. A special worker would be well-placed here, and he should be enabled to visit the chief centres in the province. No adequate data has come to hand from this far-distant region.

YUNNANFU—This is the center of a vigorous Islam. In its seven mosques important classes for training *mullahs* are actively proceeding, while within two days' journey several other training-grounds for *mullahs* are doing much for Islam. The province has some able men who visit far and wide in the interests of the faith. No one has yet been appointed to attempt to reach the Moslems of Yunnan. Care should be taken to set apart the right worker, for Islam is a power in the province already.

CANTON—The Moslem community here numbers some twenty-five to thirty thousand followers, and the six mosques in Canton, and a few not far away (Shiuhing, Hongkong, Sama, etc.) should have a worker set apart to reach "the faithful." It should be borne in mind that the Cantonese dialect is quite distinct from the ordinary Chinese, and that Canton is a great city where but the fringe of the population is being touched.

KWEILIN—Geographically requires a worker for Moslems, it being too distant from other centres for the dual work. It has seven mosques, and would require a mandarin-speaking missionary.

LANCHOW—The capital of Kansu is of importance as being the headquarters of the Moslem Society that specializes in education. The activities of the Society extend throughout all the province, varying in intensity in the different districts. The funds used were subscribed by leading Mohammedans. (See special report on Kansu. Appendix II.

KIRIN, MOUKDEN, and KWEIHUACHENG. A glance at the

map will show the importance of these centers, and the possibility of reaching very influential groups of Moslems in each. To deal with Islam in China is a big task, but it is at the Call of the One who is omnipotent that the work can be achieved. "The things that are impossible with men are possible with God." To carry the Gospel of His Grace to these long-neglected precious souls, ought to be done and it can be done—be it ours under the constraining love of Christ to say: it *shall* be done.

APPENDIX II

SPECIAL REPORT ON KANSU PROVINCE

Kansu, the northwest province of China is the most thickly populated Moslem province of the land. Out of a total population of ten million it may be safely estimated that some three million are followers of the faith of Islam. The term "Chinese Moslem" is often very misleading to those who are but slightly acquainted with the past history of this great land. Many infer that the term signifies those Chinese who have become proselytized to Mohammedanism. As far as Kansu is concerned this is not so. Here we find the Moslem population to be of distinctly different origin to the Chinese and to this day retaining many peculiarities of both feature and custom.

Chinese historial records enable us to trace the Kansu Moslems to three distinct sources and to the present day they retain to a great measure the peculiarities, both in features and customs, of the races from which they originated.

First, then, we have the Arab-Persian Moslem known in Chinese history as the Ta Shih Hwei Hwei who first entered China sometime during the T'ang Dynasty, A. D. 618-907. They came, most likely, through Central Asia, through the present Chinese Turkestan which was known in ancient Chinese history as Hsi Yueh or the western boundary. It would seem likely that Arab settlements were known in China before the missionaries, or followers of the faith of Islam, arrived. We have the record of one or two embassies or trading expeditions arriving in Ch'ang An (the present Sianfu in Shensi) the then capital of the Empire during the reign of the first Emperor of the Tang dynasty (A. D. 618-26). Some of the

Arabs who came with these expeditions are reported to have settled in China. The Hwei Hwei (Moslem) descendants of the Arabs and Persians are perhaps the most numerous of the three different races of Mohammedans existing in the province today. They are to be found in larger or smaller communities in the districts of Hochow, Kuyuen and Ch'ingshui Hsien, Ninghsia, Sining, Lanchow, Pingliang, Taochow and surrounding districts. They speak Chinese but also use, for social intercourse as well as religious purposes, a fairly large vocabulary of Arabic and Persian words. The term for God is either the Arabic *Allah*, or the Persian *Khuda*, though the latter is perhaps more commonly used. Again, the Persian *Akhuan* used for *Mullah* and pronounced *Ahong* in China. It is generally estimated that only ten per cent of the *Ahongs* who read Arabic intelligently understand the meaning of what they read. A good working knowledge of Arabic will be necessary for the missionary undertaking work among them. At the present time there are three missionaries in Kansu preparing for evangelistic and medical work among this people. Owing to extreme shortness of workers all three are responsible for non-Moslem work. Secondly, we have the Ouigur-Mongol Moslem known as the Tong Hsiang Hwei Hwei. The Ouigurs (known in Chinese history as the Hwei-huh) sometime during the seventh or eighth century removed from Kashgaria to the districts of Turfan and Hami. Here they were joined by some of the Mongols of these districts whose cause at that time was anything but prosperous. During the eighth century came the Arab missionaries propagating the Islamic faith. They made such good progress in their work among these peoples that they eventually adopted the faith of Islam. At first they adopted the turban and were known as the white turban sect. Later the color of the turban was changed to red. At the present day a branch of this family is known to the Chinese as the Ch'an T'eo Hwei Hwei. They were forced to submit to the Chinese early in the Yuan dynasty (A. D. 1260-1341).

The Tong Hsiang Hwei Hwei of the present day are

most likely descendants of the Ouigur Mongols described above. They reside in their own district which lies east of the city of Hochow practically right up to the west bank of the Tao River. They do not intermingle freely with either Chinese or other Moslems. They use a peculiar Mongol dialect, and no Christian missionary has so far been able to do any work in their midst and no missionary has yet undertaken the study of their language. The number of their population is estimated at anything between 150,000 and 200,000. In features they resemble the Mongol.

Thirdly, we have the Turki Moslem known as the Salar. Their forefathers were expelled from Samarkand in Central Asia by one of the descendants of the Prophet who was at that time their ruler. They had made themselves so obnoxious to their neighbors on account of their free-booting habits that they were told to leave and on no account to return. After long journeying they found their way to the province of Kansu and settled first of all at the place where now lies the village of K'ehtzi-kong, a few miles distant from the city of Hsuenhwa in the west of the province. To the present day they speak the Turki of Central Asia and their women wear the same kind of dress as do the women of Samarkand. Few of them understand Chinese well. The Salar immigration is commonly dated as having taken place during the reign of the first emperor of the Ming dynasty (A. D. 1368-1399). No missionary has yet been able to carry on settled work in their midst and there is no missionary at present resident in the province who understands their language. It is difficult to give any trustworthy figure of the Salar population; their district which lies west of Hochow round the city of Hsuenhwa and again west of that along the south of the Yellow River, is very little known. They have the reputation of being very wild to travel among except to those who speak their language.

Work among Moslems in Kansu has been carried on in the past, as opportunity has offered in conjunction with the Chinese work. This could never prove very effective. A great step has been made in the right direc-

tion during the last few years by the appointment of several missionaries (two or three at the time of writing) who are to enter upon direct evangelistic effort among the Moslems. But as yet no one has been able to engage in the study of the languages used by the Tonghsiang and the Salar Hwei-Hwei so that it means that these two races of people must of necessity be unevangelized for some time to come. This is a challenge to the Christian Church. Men and women, ready to endure hardness and face danger and opposition are needed for this special work. But oh! the joy of winning these souls to Christ!

Kansu has several hundred mosques. At Hochow, the chief Moslem center in Kansu, many are trained as *mullahs* who afterwards occupy positions in Kansu, Shensi and Szechuan provinces. There are several saints' tombs in large grounds, and some fourteen mosques.

Lanchow, the provincial capital (two and a half days overland from Hochow) has several thousand Moslem families, and ten or more mosques.

Sining, a great district, has many Moslems. Islam has the appearance of growing force, and several new mosques have been erected lately, one costing a large sum.

Ningsia district also has many Moslems. Ma Fuh Hsiang the principal official in the district is an enthusiast on education, and has ordered every mosque parish under his control to open a school in which Chinese is taught, and has spent thousands of *taels* in opening such schools. The standard of training for *mullahs* in this district is rather high, there are a number of men of undoubted ability among them who so far are very friendly to missionaries and the door is open for specialized work.

F. H. RHODES.

Chefoo, China.

ARABIAN STORIES FOR CHINESE READERS

There was published at Peking a few months ago, a new book by a Moslem named Li T'ing Hsiang, which is not without interest as showing what an intelligent Moslem of the present day contributes towards the revival of Islam in China. The book is a collection of strange stories from the Koran and other "reliable histories," and is given a title which may be translated "Marvels recorded for exhortation to goodness." In his preface the compiler says: "Among men there are always a few at the extremes of wisdom and foolishness, but most of the people in the world are average people. In general it is the nature of men to be good and not evil, and it is men's inclination or disposition to love the good and hate the evil; if people are exhorted in accordance with this nature and disposition, there are none who may not be made good. The True Lord gave the Books and sent the prophets and made all the worthy and superior men on purpose to exhort people to goodness: but the minds of men are unstable and they often dislike what is old and delight in anything new. As regards the Koran and the Traditions and the books of the sages, men look at them in a cursory manner without finishing them, and in their reading they get tired and sleepy; if they see fiction or stories of something marvellous they are alert with double energy; their feelings are easily worked up to weep or pity, to sympathize or to be angry with the characters of the story.

"As it is my duty to help in instructing and reforming people, I have looked among my old books and selected some wonderful stories with the purpose of arousing people from their lethargy, and I have made this book and called it 'Marvels recorded for exhortation to goodness.' The book is made up of selections from the Koran and other reliable histories, and although the stories are wonderful yet they are true, and while extraordinary, they are

only a few of others equally so. They are all concerned with our religion and will serve to stir up the good in men's hearts and to reprove their evil thoughts; it is my wish that those who read this book may not regard it as an ordinary story book."

The book contains fifty selections, of unequal length and differing values; as fables with morals something might be said for them; but when we are assured that they are "true" and that some are extracted from the "incomparable Book," every jot and tittle of which is perfect and to be believed, then we feel that they give a lamentable exhibition of the credulity and the standard of intelligence expected of the Moslem readers of China in this age of world-progress in other ways. A few selections are herewith given in translation to indicate the value of the book, and to show one of the latest methods of arousing interest and strengthening the faith in the Moslem religion in China.

I. EXALTED VIRTUES COMMAND SUBMISSION. A good man named Abdullah was travelling in company with other merchants on a trading trip, and as they came to a thicket among the hills those who were in front saw before them a lion asleep on the path; they were all afraid to proceed but turned back and fled. Abdullah was behind and as he came up he saw them fleeing and asked what was the matter, so they told him about the lion. Abdullah dismounted from his beast and walked up to the lion and took hold of it by the ear and said: "Begone! Begone!" The fierce lion got up, and with head bent down and ears drooping, it wagged its tail and went off. The other merchants greatly wondered at this and asked Abdullah how came it to pass, and he answered: "The Prophet said: 'If a man can fear God and cultivate himself to the utmost sincerity, then all things will obey his command; man is the most noble of all between heaven and earth, and the most intelligent of all creatures; if he is a perfect man, why need he fear a lion, which, although fierce, is only a beast.' " When they heard these words, they all acknowledged the loftiness of his virtue.

Comment.—Men and all things in creation exist by

the decree of God and are subject to the commands of God; but prophets and worthies only are able to have perfect manhood and to be in harmony with God so as to completely follow all the commands of God; as they do this, all beasts are bound to respect and obey them.

LIFE LENGTHENED BY CARING FOR THE STARVING. In the time of the prophet Musa, (Moses) there was an Israelite named Naibuer who was wealthy and liked to do good deeds and give alms; at fifty years of age he was still without a son on which account he was grieved and could not sleep at nights; his wife told him that the prophet Moses could prevail with God and he ought to go and ask for his interest in the matter of getting a son. The man followed this advice and went and besought Moses, who granted his request. After prayer, Moses said: "God will give you a son, but his life will be cut off on the day of his marriage." In his joy at the promise of a son, Naibuer forgot the sorrow contained in the prophecy, so did not speak of it. In due time a son was born, for which the father gave thanks and offered sacrifice and made a great feast to which relatives and friends came with their congratulations.

When the son was grown up, Naibuer's wife advocated an early marriage, to which the husband agreed, so with befitting ceremony the boy was betrothed to the daughter of a wealthy family, and the day fixed for the marriage; it was then that Naibuer told his wife of the prophecy of Moses, on which she was greatly alarmed and wept unceasingly. Her husband said to her: "It is Fate; do not worry lest you make God angry; we can only submit."

On the appointed day Naibuer was outwardly joyous with the guests, but in his heart he was much troubled. During the feast there appeared a student of the Book who, because his travelling money was all used up, had been three days without food and he could hardly walk but just crept up to the door and asked for food; Naibuer saw and pitied him and personally hastened down the steps and assisted him into the hall and quickly gave him food. When the man had eaten, in gratitude he secret-

ly prayed for his benefactor and his descendants, desiring that the succession might continue without break; God granted his request and decreed added life to the son.

Naibuer went about that day with heavy heart, and could not sleep the whole night, but listened for the dreaded news; but on the day following there was no sickness, nor yet on the next day; so he inquired of Moses, who asked God what was the reason why the expected had not happened, and God told Moses that he had been pleased with the sincere and good action of Naibuer in saving the starving, so he had granted the prayer of the student. Moses reported this and Naibuer praised God and hereafter was still more zealous and earnest in well-doing.

Comment. The giving of a single meal may be a very small matter and I would not deceive anybody by implying that it can in itself confer lengthened life for the giver; the Way of Heaven is not so easy as that. But when a man had been without food for three days he was in extremity, and although one meal may be but little, yet in this case to get it meant life, and not to get it meant death; hence a meal in such a case was the saving of a life. Moreover when Naibuer saw the man in such dire necessity he hastened to his relief and assisted him up the steps, his outward actions thus testifying to the sincerity of his heart. The Book says: "If you are compassionate to men, God will be compassionate to you"; and as this principle is true there can be no doubt about the lengthening of days told in this story.

THE STORY OF SAMSON. In the main this follows the scriptural account, but differs where Samson is captured and his body is cut up and his head is kicked about as a football; his heart was taken out and hung over the city gate. Although his body was dead, his soul was still conscious and he prayed to God saying: "O, God, Thou art the Compassionate; save in this bitter extremity; Thou art the Just, give blessing to the good and calamity to the evil; Thy great power is omnipotent, with Thee are the commands of life and death. When I was alive I left undone many good things, and I now pray that Thou,

O God, will give me back my body and restore my life." God answered his prayer and gave one thousand times more strength than he had before; he gave a great shout at which the walls of the city fell down and the people were terrified; the opposers were all destroyed and the rest submitted. Samson then thanked God for His grace, and day and night cultivated virtue and worshipped unceasingly, and had years added until he died at the age of eighty-three years and four months.

Comment. The heart of man is difficult to fathom; even in jesting one should be on one's guard, and the **closest conversation between husband and wife often has** a way of leaking out, so that one cannot be too careful. As a man Samson was lacking in wisdom and discretion, so he came to grief at the hands of an ignorant but scheming woman. Yet the sincerity of his virtue was such as to move God to restore him to life in order that he might destroy the enemies and restore lustre to the correct Faith; so Samson may rightly be numbered among the prophets.

A DEAD PRIEST RECALLED TO LIFE. The Appointed Prophet Jesus on his travels came to a certain village and tried to instruct and reform the people who said to him that as he called himself a special prophet he ought to be able to show them some miracle. Jesus asked what they would like him to do, and they said that there was in the neighborhood a grave of a priest who had been dead over one thousand years, and if Jesus could call him back to life they would believe. Jesus said that God was all-powerful and this was only a small matter; so he went with them to the grave and after making two obeisances he lifted his hands in prayer and the grave opened and the dead man, whose name was Tulabu, came out of the cavity and knelt down before the prophet and repeated the Kalima—"there is no deity but God and Jesus is His Prophet." Jesus said to him: "You died as a Buddhist priest (probably priest of idolatry is meant but the term Buddha is used) over one thousand years ago and now you have attained to the correct Faith; in your ordinary life you must have done something good; will

you tell us what it was?" The priest puzzled over it for some time and then remembered and said: "When I was alive I was one day passing a mosque and stepping inside I saw a student of the Book who in weariness had fallen asleep leaning on the table under the lamp, and the Book was thrown on the ground; I cleansed my hands and lifted the Book up to the table and quietly retired without the student having awakened." Jesus said to all around: "Listen to this! Tulabu was a man on the wrong road, but he did one good act with the sincerity of which God was pleased, and therefore today he is called forth to life again and has attained the Faith." The people were all moved to repeat the creed that there is only one God and Jesus was the Apostle of God, and they all followed the holy Faith.

A WARNING TO THE COVETOUS. The prophet Jesus on his travels saw a shepherd beating a skull with the handle of a whip, at which he wondered and asked the reason. The shepherd replied that the skull contained some gold coins which he was trying to get and could not without breaking it to pieces. "Alas!" said Jesus, "God made man the most noble of all thing; what can have been the crime of this man that not only is his body scattered, but his very bones are broken to pieces?" The skull was moved by the Holy Spirit and spake as follows: "Woe is me! In life I was an official in high position, but I did not care about governing the country nor did I consider the people; I was ungrateful for the mercies I received and went on as if I believed in neither heaven nor hell, and as if I had never heard of the heavenly books; I only cared about receiving bribes and gathering wealth, and though I got much I was never satisfied. When I was about to die I commanded my family that when dead my hands were to be filled with gold and my shoes also, and that my mouth should have gold put in it. Time has passed away and my grave has collapsed and my bones have been exposed and the gold being seen has been taken by people; only the coins in my mouth are left and this shepherd having seen them is trying to get at them by beating my skull about." The prophet wrote

this matter in a book as a warning to all covetous people, showing that those who lust inordinately after gold will have no peace either in life or in death.

SALVATION BY GRACE, NOT BY MERIT. The Angel Gabriel told Mohammed that in a cave on a certain island there was a devout man, an *Abd*, who had praised and worshipped God unceasingly for 400 years. The Prophet greatly admired and asked what was the outcome of such devotion. The angel said that in the after world God told this man that he would have to enter heaven relying upon His grace, upon which the *Abd* replied that such was not in accordance with the Koran which said that the world was a place in which to accumulate merit in order to enter heaven; he had been working for four hundred years, and if he now simply depended upon God's grace, what was the good of all his merit? He could enter heaven by means of his merit, so why should he rely upon grace? God told him he could go on trusting in his merit, and as the man proceeded towards heaven he suffered much on the way from the heat of the sun and from thirst, and at length meeting a man with some water, he was so desperate that he parted with the merit of two hundred years in exchange for some water. Some time after drinking the water he wanted to micturate but was unable to do so and suffered great agony; he then saw a doctor and in exchange for relief he gave his remaining merit of two hundred years, and arrived at the gate of heaven with nothing to his credit, when he became conscious of his mistake and prayed God for forgiveness. God reminded him that he had parted with all his merit for common things which on the earth had been given to him freely, and after all he had nothing of his own to trust to to enter heaven. On the man begging for forgiveness and mercy, God forgave him and he was permitted to enter heaven, entirely by the favour of God.

Other stories of the fairy and fabulous kind are included in the collection, including that of the man who was changed into a woman for twelve years and was changed to a man again, all while his wife was cooking

some fish; this being because he doubted that Mohammed could have gone to the heavens and back in a single night. Another story is from the "Arabian Nights" and tells of the man who understood the language of his domestic animals, and had to beat his wife for her importunate curiosity. Perhaps enough has been given above to indicate the scope of this latest book and the fresh effort to stimulate the Moslems of China.

Shanghai, China

ISAAC MASON.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

Education in Spanish-Morocco

In our last number we made reference to an important article by the Spanish Ambassador Don Alfonso Merry del Val, in the *Geographical Journal*, continuing his paper on "The Spanish Zones in Morocco" in the June number 1920. He gives the following account of the progress made in education;

"As is well known, education is little more than nominal in Morocco. At Fez the so-called University of El Kairuan still subsists, but instruction in the towns and villages of the empire is reduced to little more than reading, writing and learning the Koran by heart. In the remoter districts of the Rif and Jebala even this rudimentary learning is unknown. On the other hand, Spain is confronted with the educational problem among her own nationals in Morocco, and has been obliged to cope with both on different lines. In order not to clash with religious sentiment she has not interfered with the existing schools, but has contented herself with having her language taught there, to the undisguised satisfaction of the Moors, keen as they are to acquire this additional means of developing their trade. Aided by clear-sighted Mohammedans she has set up in every large centre Spanish Arabic schools, where higher teaching is imparted by capable Moorish masters with Spanish cooperation and supervision. The Mohammedan University, or Medersa, has been restored at Tetuan to more than its pristine glory by enlisting the staff of thirteen professors among the best elements in our zone. The result of this policy has already been reaped. Native officials educated in these Islamic schools are now employed in the Post Office and other public services of the Protectorate.

"Spanish children in Morocco have for generations past had their school in every coast town, even in far-off Mogador. Spain owes much in this and other respects to the Franciscan Order. For seven hundred years these humble patriots have worked among the local Christians and discreetly ministered to the temporal wants of Mussulmans and Jews, without hurting their religious susceptibilities. Thus, respected and honoured by all, they maintained the flickering flame of culture in half-forgotten corners of the world and kept the flag flying through the ages. On this foundation the Spanish State, whose colleges in Ceuta and Melilla do it credit, has established modern schools, open to all-comers without distinction of race or creed wherever Spaniards are to be found in Morocco.

"The finest of these establishments are to be seen at Tangier, where the Alfonso XIII., the Playa, and San Francisco schools can accommodate over two thousand scholars of both sexes for primary and secondary instruction, including foreign languages and commercial courses. As you see, it is impossible to speak of the Spanish zone in Northern Morocco without mentioning Tangier as the geographical, ethnological, psychological, and therefore the logical part of a whole. Tangier is as thoroughly Spanish as any town beyond the nation's frontiers. Spanish is the language of high and low, European, Moor and Jew. The thought and sentiment, the life and sympathy, of the town are cast

in Spanish moulds; Spanish are the names of her streets, Spanish the currency, Spanish the press and theatre and the songs in the mouths of her children; even the young diplomat setting his foot for the first time on the quay discovers before passing through the gates that his highly prized smattering of Arabic is less useful than the tongue of that old African Cervantes. In fact, as a Britisher writing to a London paper last month expressed it: "One hardly knows whether one is in a Moorish city in Spain or a Spanish city in Morocco."

Is Allah Angry with Islam

In the *Review of Religions* for July 1920 Mahmud Ahmed raises this question as follows:

"Another thing we ought to take thought of, is why are all these calamities being showered on Islam? What after all is the reason that God instead of befriending Islam has begun to deal with it like an enemy? The God, Who was once wont to display the signs of His Omnipotence in support of Islam, why does He now fail to manifest in its aid any of the wonders of His Power? It can plainly be seen that the Mussalmans have forsaken the teachings of the Holy Koran and have consequently become a prey to all these calamities. They have by their own mouths conceded to Jesus a rank superior to that of the Holy Prophet (peace be on him). It is therefore my advice that instead of wasting your time in useless deliberations, you should immediately make your peace with God and seek His blessings. You may well remember what I told you on the occasion of the conference of September, that at present there is only one way open for the regeneration of Islam, namely, that we should all stand up in order to preach its truth. The antipathy with which the Turks are regarded in Europe is not due to any defect of their administration but to the notion ingrained in the European mind that Islam is the foe of civilization. It is therefore that the European cherishes a desire to see the overthrow of Islam, which he regards as opposed to everything which he holds most dear. Accordingly, so long as this notion has not been eradicated from the mind of Europe and for that matter from the mind of the whole Christian world, there will be no end to the calamities of the Moslems. In truth, the humiliations, which the Moslem world has for the time being been undergoing are not so much an affliction of the earth as a visitation from Heaven. The Moslems have reached such a condition by reason of turning their backs to the simple teachings of the Holy Koran and their salvation lies only in offering a suitable atonement for their past negligence, in reforming their own character and in faithfully delivering to the world the message, which for this purpose was entrusted to them. God had assigned it as a duty of the Mussalmans that they should carry the message of Islam to all the corners of the earth. But they turned their backs on this duty and cared not a straw for its discharge. Then it was that God wanted to point out to them that the discharge of the duty was a matter of profit to themselves and not to their God. For the fact is, that if there were not left in the world a single man following the truth of Islam, still it would make no difference in the dominion of God. The difference would be in the character of the Mussalmans themselves and in their security. Therefore, even now the remedy which may grant the Mussalmans immunity from these calamities lies in this, that they should stand up for the vindication of Islam. Political power did not come to the Moslems previous to the advent of Islam. It only followed the latter. So even now, when Islam has once been reha-

bilitated political power will return to the Mussalmans of its own accord.

The Cross and the Crescent in Nyasaland

Speaking at the anniversary of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, the Rev. A. C. Churchland, of Nyasaland, closed his address with these hopeful words:

"The work is difficult. I have not time to say anything about the kind of Mohammedanism that we are up against; some of you know something of its nature. I am sure of one thing, and that is that they know what we are out to do. They know that we are out to plant the Cross in every single village in the district and they know that our powers are greater than theirs.

"We see it over and over again in times of stress. For instance, they thought that there was going to be a drought and two big Mohammedan chiefs came to my house and asked me to pray for rain. They realize at such times that we can help them, and, needless to say, we are very careful not to neglect such opportunities. During the two awful outbreaks of influenza we had a unique opportunity and we used it as far as we could. Again, we have an opportunity in times of ordinary sickness, and we have instances like that very frequently. One of the things that is such a strain at times to the priest in charge of a district is that he must always be on the alert and he must always know exactly where we have an opportunity of getting into any particular village.

"How are we going to break down that Mohammedan barrier which still exists in numbers of villages where they do not want us? I think that we have two great openings, one on the medical side and the other on the pastoral side. I can only just allude to the medical work. At Likwenu the medical work is growing tremendously and we are in desperate need of two hospitals. We hope to build as soon as possible a permanent men's and women's hospital, if only we can raise the necessary money. It is one of the most important things and no words can put it strongly enough.

"In village after village we have been able to start work through some women, man or boy—some one person—who has come to the mission dispensary. By the pastoral side I mean men and women living Christian lives who can go out into the villages to encourage the people and make them realize and understand that we are there to help them. They understand something of the meaning of sin and they know how we can help them in spiritual ways as well as medically, and it is a tremendous thing. I am sure that on the medical side and on the pastoral side, as I call it for lack of a better word, on those two lines we are going to get into every single one of those Mohammedan villages before many years have passed."

A Unitarian Mission in Cairo

A Unitarian writes from Cairo to the organ of American Unitarianism:

"Yesterday afternoon I visited the great Azhar Mosque with Sheikh Ruhayem, one of the professors of theology at this mosque. I told him what I was and what I intended to know, and asked him whether or not the Mohammedans would favor cooperation with the Unitarians. Replying to my question he asked me *if besides denying the godship of Jesus we believed in the prophetic mission of Mohammed and in the religious value of the Koran. On receiving an affirmative answer he*

was completely satisfied, and said that he knew of no obstacle why the two religious bodies could not work together with the utmost cordiality. He expressed a desire to see our literature translated into Arabic. Steps are being taken to gratify the desire of this venerable sheikh, and I hope the loyal Unitarians will not fail to help."

Another Afghan Martyr

In every land the Moslem convert is a pervert from Islam and, therefore, loses all his rights of property and person, if the old law of Islam is enforced. In many countries this is now impossible, but on the borders of civilization the fanatical spirit of Islam dies hard. Mrs. V. H. Starr of Peshawar tell of a Moslem convert, a lad of eighteen, who laid down his life for Christ.

"Flower of the King," was not an Indian but belonged to the Afridis, one of the wild Afghan tribes who live beyond the British border on the northwest and who, like all the trans-frontier people, are bigoted Moslems. He left his people and came to the hospital, a rough hill lad, asking for work. He was put on as a coolie, and proved intelligent and quick, and a good worker. Now the staff of the hospital are all Christians; this is a rule, for it is a *mission* hospital, with all that this stands for. The men and boys on the staff are therefore Indians from the Punjab, who have usually received their education in a mission school, and to them the Afghan is a foreigner. The hospital servants and coolies, however, who come from the city and surrounding villages are illiterate, and usually are Mohammedans. They are not obliged to attend the morning prayers and Bible study for the staff, which precedes the hospital work each day; but Flower of the King was always there, and before long asked to become a Christian. He needed testing and much teaching, and it would have been many months before he could have publicly confessed Christ in baptism. As time went on he was promoted to the work of a "probationer" in the operating theatre, thus earning his living and receiving regular instruction in greater things at the same time.

In 1914, his father, little brother, and others of his "clan" come down to Peshawar on business, and seemed quite glad to see the boy again and to find him earning regular wages. They appeared friendly and there was nothing to cause uneasy thoughts. One day the lad came to ask the doctor for extra time off duty as his father wished to take him to see a sick relative staying not far away. He was given a half-day, and, locking the door of his little room in the hospital quarters, he went off, dressed in a new blue turban for the occasion, and with a happy smile on his face—a very much smarter and more disciplined person than the lad of a year before.

Evening came and he did not return. Inquiry was made, but no trace was found. On the frontier such a disappearance is not difficult to accomplish. His friends at the hospital feared for him. Was there treachery; had the worst happened? Or had he been persuaded to return to his people? For the Pathan or Afghan lives in the life of his clan. But if so, what of his faith? As yet he knew so little of the meaning of Christianity. It was feared that he had proved unworthy, and so would not return.

Later, what is believed to be the truth came to light. The lad's uncle, his father's brother, was again trading in Peshawar, and told the story in the bazaars of the city and in time it reached the staff of the hospital. It seems that, wholly unsuspecting, the son had gone off with his father—to what place is unknown, but in all probability over

the frontier, a matter of ten miles or so, out of reach of the arm of the law. There he was reproached with the disgrace brought on the family, indeed on the whole tribe, because of this talk of turning Christian.

The Afghans are fanatical Moslems; the Son of God is despised and rejected by the people of the frontier, and to become one of *His* followers is to lose all honour, and may not be tolerated by followers of the prophet, whose creed is: "There is one God and *Mohammed* is the prophet of God." There was but one alternative: either the new faith must be given up, or his life. Details are unknown. It is useless to conjecture; the bare fact that was told remains, that the Afridi lad was stoned by his own father and other Mohammedans, because for him there was "*no alternative*." Who knows? Perhaps for this Stephen of the twentieth century also the heavens opened, and "he saw the glory of God and Jesus."

Mohammedans under the American Flag

An article on this subject by Frank C. Laubach appeared in *The Missionary Herald*, August, from which we take these paragraphs: Because the Congregational Church has had so much experience with Mohammedans in Turkey, we were intrusted with the Mohammedans in the Philippines. Our territory is the Island of Mindanao, as large as Ireland. It is the Ireland of the Philippines, for it contains three irreconcilable classes—Mohammedans, Pagans and Catholics.

We have been accustomed to calling that our neglected mission field. For seventeen years we had only one ordained missionary and one doctor; they worked among the pagans. Three men and four women have been added, but they are all absorbed with the civilized Filipinos.

We have no Congregational missionary, after twenty-two years, preaching Christ among the Moros. We must stop neglecting the Mohammedans under the American flag, for they are a menace to the Philippines. And the Philippines are one of the vital spots of the world. Must a nation be soaked in massacre before we notice that it is important?

Bishop Oldham says: "The crux of our missionary work in Asia is to be found in the Philippines. If we fail to Christianize the Philippines, we fail to Christianize all Asia. But if we succeed in Christianizing the Philippines, we succeed in all Asia."

From one end of the Philippines to the other you may see watch towers, forts, and walled cities which reveal the terror in which Moro pirates kept Spaniards and Filipinos for 300 years. The Moros never were conquered until America overpowered them. During the World War, Arab Moslems tried to enlist the Moros in a Jihad against Christians. We deported every Arab and Indian, and seized every firearm in Moroland. Every religious uprising in India or Turkey has its echo in Mindanao. So long as the Moros are drunk with the wild fanaticism of Islam, they are sure to make trouble when we withdraw from the Philippines.

Bishop Brent declares that the American Government has prepared the Moros for missionary work so wonderfully that they will probably be the first Mohammedans in the world to come over into Christianity in large numbers.

Just before I left the Philippines we ordained a Moro young man. It was a strange ordination. At his examination somebody asked a question but tears poured down his face and he could not answer. We looked at each other, swallowed hard, and decided that he needed no

examination. There was not a dry eye during that ordination service. It was one of those mighty spiritual hours one never forgets. Now he has sailed away to carry Christ to his kinsmen, with all the passion of his blazing soul.

Those Moro young men are gold. I tell you, if they are Christianized, they will turn upon Borneo, Java, Siam, and India with the fearless zeal for which they are famous.

The "Reds" Appeal to the "Green"

It is an open question how far Bolshevism will be able to enlist the sympathy and cooperation of Moslems in the Near East. That efforts are made, however, in this direction not only from Moscow and other Bolshevik centers but from Britain itself is ominous, according to the *London Times*, July 31st. The *Call*, which is the official organ of the British Socialist Party, prints this week extracts from a summons issued by the Executive of the Communist International to "the peasants and workmen of Persia, Armenia, and Turkey to meet in Baku on September 1st."

"The Persians are told (we are quoting *The Call*) of the treachery of the Teheran Government of the Kadjars, which through excessive exploitation of its subjects, has been forced to sell Persia last year to the English capitalists for £2,000,000 sterling. With the help of these new oppressors, to whom they have sold the rich oil wells in South Persia, they are better able to plunder the toilers of Persia.

It is brought to the notice of Mesopotamia that, in spite of its declared independence by the English, it is plundered and robbed by 80,000 English soldiers, who occupy it.

The appeal graphically describes to the peasants of Anatolia the tyranny of the English, French, and Italian Governments in making the captured Sultan their tool for the furtherance of their schemes of dominion in Turkey "which has already been impoverished by a six-year war and has been reduced to beggary."

The peasants of Syria and Armenia are reminded that in spite of repeated promises of independence on the part of the English and French Governments, they have become the slaves of these foreign invaders, who are even greater tyrants and exploiters than the Sultan's Governmena. The summons concludes:

"We appeal to the workers and peasants of the Near East, but we shall be happy to see amongst the delegates representatives also of the oppressed nations of the Far East, such as India, as well as representatives of Mussalman peoples who are living and developing freely in alliance with Soviet Russia."

Constantinople in 1877 and 1920

Olga Novikoff recently wrote a letter to the London press regarding the crux of Constantinople, which reveals that the diplomats have made slow progress since the days of Gladstone. The question unsolved in 1877, she says, is no nearer a good solution in 1920! On the contrary, matters are even worse. In England Mr. Gladstone and his friends in Russia, Count Ignatieff and all the Slavophiles, saw only one true settlement. May I recall the first conversation between Lord Salisbury and Count Ignatieff at the Constantinople Conference? The English plenipotentiary, who had been primed beforehand with every kind of suspicion with regard to Russia's designs, remarked to the Count on first meeting him:

"I am told that you are a terrible man, and that you have so many

spies and agents all over the East." Ignatieff replied: "It is quite true that I have many helpers. But who are they? I wish you would go into the provinces and see for yourself about my agents. Paid agents I have not; not one *rouble* do I pay for help. But you will find that every one who fights for his country, who fights for his faith, who struggles for freedom in all these lands, is my friend, is my agent, is my helper. I have thousands of these—yes, 20,000—and they are my strength. But you are the support of the savagery and tyranny of the Turks."

Lord Salisbury accepted this taunt in perfect good humor, and, strangely enough, a friendship seems to have sprung up between the two men from that hour. The small handful of Russians still remaining alive, and therefore faithful to the traditions of the Green Orthodox Church, read with horror and indignation the announcement that the Turk should not be molested and that he deserved, on the contrary, to be described as the rightful and original owner of the greatest treasure Russia can conceive—Constantinople. Here may I quote the concluding passage in Gladstone's letter to me, dated December 29, 1876:

"Again, God send us a good deliverance at Constantinople, and a passage from the region of chicanery and fraud into the light of clear day."

The protectorate to which the Russian had aspired since the days of Sviatoslav, who died a glorious death in 972 (nearly 500 years before the Turks arrived on the scenes) a cruel fate has again denied. And is not Constantinople when all is said, an older shrine of Christianity than ever it was of the Turkish interlopers? Already in 381 (nearly 200 years before Mohammed was born) the city was already assigned to a Patriarch, who gave her a religious position as the head of the Church in the East. It is therefore the true cradle of Eastern Christianity. Why should Turkey be preferable to the Byzantine, and Mohammedans to Christians?

America's Intolerance toward Polygamy

In *The Review of Religions*, we read:

"On the 24th of January, 1920, Mufti Mohammad Sadiq, M. R. A. S., Phil. B., A. S. P., F. P. C. (London) proceeded from England to America to preach the truth of Islam to the people of that continent. But as soon as he reached that coast, he, quite unexpectedly, found the door of the Great Democracy closed against him. The immigration authorities would not let him in, and what do you suppose was the reason for which he was refused admission? Every reader, I am sure, will be surprised to learn that the only fault for which the door of the United States of America was slammed in his face was that he believer in a religion which permitted polygamy. He assured the authorities that if a belief in polygamy was something which disqualified one from preaching in the United States, he would undertake not to preach the doctrine while in the United States; but the authorities were still obdurate and asked our missionary to go back to the country from which he had come. Our missionary asked for permission for appeal. That permission has been given, but the gentleman has been sent to the Detention House, pending the decision of the appeal.

"The treatment which our brother has received at the hands of the United States authorities is highly intolerant and inequitable. The American people boast of being the most enlightened of all nations. They pose as the champions of liberty and freedom. They

profess not only to be themselves the most liberal of all nations, but also ready to defend the freedom of others.

"Children of the Pilgrim Fathers! Remember the fanaticism and persecution of the nations then in power, which first sent your forefathers as fugitives to your shore. You more than any other people should have held sacred the freedom of thought and speech. You have increased in wealth, you have increased in power. Beware, these are the rocks, on which have foundered the moral ships of older nations. You have passed a law forbidding people who believe in the validity of polygamy, admission into your country. Do you think even the highest legislative body in the world has the jurisdiction to pass such a law against inalienable human rights? Such legislation only serves to brand the nation with the stigma of arrogance and pride. And where these come in, decadence is not far behind.

"America must remember that now the time has come for Islam to spread throughout the world. God Himself will break all barriers which the opponents of Islam may set up to check its spread. The flood of Islam is now rising and it will sweep away all obstacles that may come in its way. It has been decreed that Islam should spread in the United States, and no human effort can prevent its progress. Today the United States authorities are detaining a Moslem missionary because he believes in polygamy, but the day is not distant when the State itself will pass laws recognizing polygamy as a legal form of marriage."

Machine Guns or Missions?

The present muddle in the Near East is calling for advice from many physicians. In the *New Statesman* for July 24th last, there was an interesting article on "Mandates a la Mode" pointing out the tremendous responsibility in this matter of Great Britain and France. The article ends with the following paragraph which in itself is a call to thought and prayer on the part of all who love the Near East:

"What, then, is to be done? We believe that nothing useful will be done until Europe—which means, at this moment and for all practical purposes, ourselves and France—makes up its mind to a definite policy in the East. The Supreme Council, our Foreign Offices and General Staffs, the Government of India and various business interests, all have their own axes to grind. We are experimenting on every people from the Black Sea to the Persian Gulf, and neither we, nor any of them, are satisfied. There are really only two practical alternatives. The one is to rule by the sword—to apply Dyerism in India or Egypt or any other country inhabited by "niggers." The other is to dominate by moral force. The attempt to mix the two systems will breed nothing but unrest and disaster. And we put it to the French that it is precisely that which they are attempting now in Syria, just as we are attempting it in Mesopotamia. But what, it will be asked, does using moral force mean? It means what those who drafted the Covenant of the League of Nations meant—or perhaps we should say, what those who believe in the League of Nations mean. It implies at the outset that, if a European Power is going to exercise a mandate over Arabs, the European Power must be honest and the Arabs must be willing. Is it not a *reductio ad absurdum* of the mandate to impose it with tanks and bombs? . . . If it is oil and moral and economic interests that require our presence in Asia, well and good. Only let us then have done with humbug; do not let us call an army a mandate, or a machine-gun battalion administrative advice. If, on the other

hand, there is any sincerity in our professions, we are surely bound to remind ourselves of the words of the Covenant, that the wishes of these communities (*i. e.*, communities formerly belonging to the Turkish Empire) must be a principal consideration in the selection of the mandatory. Should the Arabs insist on their absolute independence, there are, it seems to us, only two alternatives. Either they must have it or an attempt must be made to conciliate them by doing what the Supreme Council suggested in the case of Armenia—that is to say, by making the League of Nations itself the mandatory, and equipping it, of course (as the Supreme Council did not suggest in the Armenian case), with the necessary resources. Neither of these alternatives, we suppose, will strike the French Government or our own as particularly agreeable. But either of them is preferable to the moral and material damages that the present conception of mandates promises to the French and British peoples."

The Real Turkish Danger

A writer in the *Saturday Review* points out a possible peril after the signing of the Turkish Peace Treaty in these words:

"The first and most obvious peril to Britain is that the precarious hold of the Caliphate on Constantinople and the gradual disruption of the Empire (which will inevitably occur, unless technical and financial assistance is forthcoming) will react unfavourably upon our great Moslem populations. But this danger is more apparent than real. Mohammedans are better versed in their own religious history than their statements, designed for Western consumption, would appear to prove. They know, as well as we do, that the head of the House of Othman is not a direct descendant of the Prophet, nor even a member of the race of the Koreish. His sanctity is a fiction, his claim is invalid in the opinion of many learned doctors of Moslem law. His ancestor was a usurper, with no claim to the position save his strong right hand, and there are at the present moment several claimants to the Caliphate whose ancestry is unimpeachable, and whose following is considerable. The real danger is not religious, for the wide democracy of Islam has much more common sense than is generally supposed. The peril that menaces us is strictly practical and economic. The Turkish Empire is moribund, but the Turkish people are still alive, and sullen, and intractable, and bitterly hostile to the makers of the San Remo treaty. Defeated and discouraged they may be for the moment, but a decade of continual war has inured them to hardship and accustomed them to every chance and change of fate. They are a nation of nomads and adventurers, born in beggary and bred on bloodshed. An infinite capacity for mischief remains to them. Whether any agreement is possible with the Turks will be seen when the Grand Vizier arrives in Paris. But if there is no agreement, there will be no peace, and our military expenditure, which has already assumed staggering proportions, will have to be further increased. Further, if the moment should arrive for the Turks to settle accounts with their enemies, a German-Russian-Ottoman alliance will be a menace as serious as the world has ever seen."

The Nationalists and Moslem Law

This quarterly does not concern itself primarily with political movements but with intellectual and spiritual conditions in the world of Islam. The following *fatwa*, however, promulgated by the Sheik al Islam at Brusa on April 20, 1920 and published in the Nationalist newspaper, *Millett Yolu*, will interest our readers:

1. Is it not the duty of all Moslems to take up arms in defence of the Khalif when the seat of the Khalifat is occupied by the enemy, when all means of defence are taken from the Sultan so that he can no longer defend the true interests of the nation, and when courts-martial are established in the capital under British laws—Reply: Yes.

2. Can those who thus take part in the fight against the enemy be stigmatised as enemies of their country and their religion?—Reply: No.

3. Are not those who die in such fighting "martyrs" (Shehid), and are not those who survive "victors" (Ghazi)?—Reply: Yes.

4. Are not all Moslems bound by the Holy Law under such circumstances to assist in the struggle against the enemy?—Reply: Yes.

5. Are *fatwas* issued by a Government which is under the influence of the enemy binding under the Holy Law upon Moslems?—Reply: No.

The announcement itself is much longer, and is interspersed with quotations from the Koran in support of the replies given to the questions, but the above conveys the general sense of the "Holy *Fatwa*," as it is entitled. It was published on the authority of Mehmed Rifaat Effendi, the chief Kadi of Angora, and a separate announcement stated that it was endorsed by the principal Ulema of all Anatolia."

Personal Evangelism and Social Service

In winning our Moslem brethren for Christ and Christianizing social relations in Moslem lands we need not only personal evangelism but social service. This was the way the Master went, and His servants should tread it still. The common people heard Jesus gladly because He sympathized with their sufferings and His preaching was accompanied by signs and wonders of social service—the healing of the sick, the cleansing of the leper, the raising of the dead. Christ had a heart for childhood and a love for the oppressed and the poor. Some people are always contrasting evangelism and social service. They go together. In discussing this question the *Watchman Examiner* recently said:

"Is it not perfectly plain that personal evangelism and social service are both fundamental duties? It is claimed by some advocates of social service that those advocating personal evangelism are the sworn enemies of social betterment. Is this true? If it is true it is inexcusable. But at a matter of fact, nobody but a lunatic is opposed to social betterment. Who does not thank God for water free from typhoid germs, for streets free from filth, for cities free from saloons, for bakeries and butcher shops under public supervision? It is claimed by those who oppose the social service emphasis that social service workers expect to save the world by their reforms, that they sneer at the necessity of personal regeneration, that in talking about 'social salvation' they utterly neglect to emphasize the need for the 'personal salvation.' Is this true? If it is, these workers are a menace to the cause of Christ and the real enemies of humanity. It is said by those who oppose the social service emphasis that social service workers, broadly speaking, are not the men and women who hold to 'the Gospel in its purity.' If this proves anything, it proves too much. Why have those of us who hold to 'the Gospel in its purity' allowed these heretics to run away with this form of Christian service?

"There is absolutely no conflict between personal evangelism and social service. Many of the greatest soul winners have been the world's greatest social benefactors. Witness Moody the evangelist, and Moody the founder of the Northfield schools. Witness Müller the Bible reading evangelist, and Müller the founder of the Bristol orphanages. Witness Spurgeon the evangelistic pastor, and Spurgeon the founder of the Stockwell orphanages. Let the conflict cease. Let every Christian

become a soul-winner. This is his first and fundamental duty, but it does not absolve him from the duties of social service and good citizenship. On the other hand, let all remember that not social service, not good citizenship, but the gospel of Jesus Christ only can save a lost world."

How Mohammedanism Spreads Among Pagan Tribes

"Exigencies of space forbid me to show, as I would like, in some detail, by what easy and natural processes Islam lays its blighting touch upon a young and virile pagan tribe. The Mohammedan pedlar, with his two or three donkey-loads of Hausa cloth and leather goods, and of Manchester prints, beads, mirrors and knives, arrives at a pagan village and deposits himself and his goods under the guests' tree. Communications are conducted through the medium of Hausa or Fulani, or, if the village be off the main track, and correspondingly backward and primitive, by means of an interpreter. The trader announces his intention of 'sitting down' at the place for two or three days. He then opens his packs, and propitiates the chief by the gift of two or three articles of small intrinsic value but great local worth. Business at first is slow, but after the fears and suspicions of the villagers have been laid at rest, it becomes exceedingly brisk. In three days' time the pedlar ties up his loads and departs, richer by a few score fowls, a couple of dozen goats, and it may be a purseful of coins also.

"Two months later he reappears, and is welcomed as an old acquaintance. The chief treats him more generously and is rewarded with more generous gifts, which may now take the form of a *riga* (upper robe), a *tarbûsh* or a turban, and a verse from the holy Koran, which is worn around the neck as a charm. The native chief has now adopted the Mohammedan dress. The first stage of his transformation from pagan to Moslem is complete. At the next visit of the trader, the chief will watch him at his ablutions and prayers, and try to imitate him. This is the second stage. Subsequently he will ask to be taught to repeat one or two Hausa prayers. The words may be incomprehensible but what of that? Does not the whole religion consist of mysterious words and cabalistic signs? And thus the transforming process reaches its swift conclusion. The chief himself, whose 'conversion' to Islam is but skin deep, may not be a very sincere and convinced believer, but his children will be more than sincere—they will be fanatical. The chief and his family being won, the subjection of the whole tribe to the authority of the Prophet is but a matter of time. And thus does Islam extend and consolidate its influence in the lands of the Sudan."

"*Thrice through the Dark Continent*," by Rev. J. Du Plessis.

Hindu and Moslem Unity

We read in one of our Indian exchanges that a Mohammedan missionary from North India, Mr. Kwaja Kamaluddin, has been giving a series of addresses in Madras. At one of these addresses, at which a Brahman presided, he is reported to have made the following remarks:

"The Hindus and Mohammedans could easily come together in a bond of union if they recognized each other's prophets. There was no harm for Mohammedans in considering the Hindu prophets as their prophets and *vice versa*. He did not want that a Hindu should become a Moslem or a Moslem a Hindu. What he wanted was only cooperation between the two. Madras had always been distinguish-

ed for its religious zeal, and thanks to the work of Mrs. Besant, the ridges which separated one mind from another were being broken. He would ask them whether it would not be possible to create a sort of league, the very first declaration of which would be that the signatory would accept Moses, Jesus, Ramachandra, Krishna, Buddha and Mohammed as true prophets and messengers of God, would accept all the great books of religion as books of God, that the Koran was the final revelation of the Divine will, and that he would refrain from speaking ill of other religions. He would assure them on behalf of the Moslems that for their part they would pledge not only to accept Krishna and Ramachandra as prophets but in addition to abstain from kine slaughter. He for his part would resolve from that day not to have anything to do with beef throughout his lifetime. If there was any likelihood of their inaugurating such a brotherhood as he had outlined, he would promise he would bring tens of thousands of men to sign the pledge."

This is a significant sign of the times; but no one can say how far Mr. Kwaja Kamaluddin represents the followers of Mohammed. We rejoice in the desire that prevails amongst thoughtful men of all classes that all should unite for the benefit of India. That union cannot take place on the lines laid down by Mr. Kamaluddin, for those prophets he has linked together do not all teach the same message. There are fundamental differences that cannot be ignored.

Bearing the Cross for our Moslem Brethren

In a sermon preached by the Bishop of Zanzibar on Simon the Cyrenian who bore the cross for our Saviour, we found the following paragraphs suggestive.

"They compelled Simon to bear it. Let us begin with that. We do not, I think, sufficiently allow for the compulsion. I would talk of that. He had to bear Christ's Cross. It was laid on him under compulsion. He could in no wise escape, for there were the soldiers—round about. Yet it belonged to Christ! Let us begin there then if we would understand our world and our duty as Christians towards the world. We must always begin there, everything impinges on the *compulsion*. If we are over-weighted by it, it is, first, Christ's Cross, and under compulsion we bear it. Do you believe that? It is the root of all spiritual motherhood and fatherhood.

"Then there is the spiritual side. All who work for God will know what I mean. Spiritual sickness comes to us and we think that we cannot go on with our work, and we doubt the value of our work. Evil temptations come, *e. g.*, to think of ourselves. We have all got our peculiar weaknesses, our memories of sin, and our particular dangers, and we often forget that, summed up together, they make the Cross, and that it is not *our* Cross but the Cross of Jesus. The Cross of Jesus Christ is all that we have laid upon Eternal Love. He will carry it, and bear it with us. We have to follow under compulsion, we have no choice.

"Then there are the people we live with, and those we work amongst, our fellow-workers. Then there is our work. We find it enormously difficult always to go on. We find it so difficult: but if you sum up all the difficulties you will find that they are *yfiurso*; they are the Cross; and all that makes the Cross, Eternal Love has to carry. And if you want to help others you have truly got to carry His Cross with Him. There is no other way."

Obituary—Reverend L. O. Fossum

From Erivan, Armenian comes the news that Rev. L. O. Fossum died from nervous exhaustion and convulsions on the 10th of October, 1920.

Mr. Fossum was a missionary of the Lutheran Church and he lived up to his motto: "I would rather wear out than rust away." When Col. T. C. Telford of the United States left Armenia for America, Mr. Fossum became his successor as District Commander of the Near East Relief. This very important executive position with its endless routine of work and with an inadequate office force constituted, as I see it, the physical reasons for his sudden collapse. He spent a few minutes each morning in giving the new missionaries suggestions in regard to language studies; then after a hastily eaten breakfast he retired to his office and continued his administrative work until late in the evening.

Mr. Fossum was born at Wallingford, Iowa on the 5th of June, 1879. In 1902 he graduated from the United Norwegian Lutheran Seminary and served as pastor at Slayton, Iowa from 1902 to 1905 when he went as missionary to the Nestorian Chaldeans in Persia. In 1910 at the Ecumenical Conference of Foreign Missions at Edinburgh, Scotland—the unevangelized Kurds were assigned to the Lutheran Church, which had already in 1907 begun a mission in Kurdistan. This beginning was interrupted a year later by the murder of Missionary Immanuel Dammen, from Germany. The field was accepted by friends from Hermannsburg, Germany, and Mr. Fossum organized The Lutheran Orient Mission Society an Inter-Synodical organization for mission among the Mohammedan Kurds. This Society is affiliated with "Furein fur Lutherish Mission in Persia and is effecting an affiliation in Norway.

In 1911 Rev. L. O. Fossum together with Dr. and Mrs. Edman left America for Kurdistan and went to Soujboulak, Persian Kurdistan where Mr. Fossum labored until he and the remaining missionaries were forced to leave in 1916 on account of the war and food shortage. He arrived in America on September 21, 1916. And in addition to continuing his Kurdish literary work he worked in the National Red Cross Service as the Lutheran Commission's representative.

Dr. Fossum's contributions to the Evangelical Mission among the Mohammedans are the following helps in Kurdish: A Kurdish alphabet; a written language for the Kurds; a Lexicon; elementary language texts; geography; arithmetic; Luther's smaller catechism; hymn book with one hundred hymns and the Lutheran Liturgy; the whole New Testament and a Practical Kurdish Grammar. The four gospels are printed by the American Bible Society; the hymn book, the liturgy catechism and the grammar are printed by the Lutheran Orient Mission Society. Fossum has also written several tracts in English and some in Norwegian. In Norwegian he has published a book called: "Muhammedanismen." While in Kurdistan in April, 1916, he began the publishing of an all "Kurdish Paper" "I am with truth for friendship." He was the creator of a written language for the three and a half million Kurds, the originator and promotor of the Lutheran Orient Mission Society, having its roots in two continents; the first missionary to accomplish the evangelization of a group of Kurds; and the creator of a written Christian literature for a large group of Mohammedans.

Cairo Waifs and Strays

A correspondent in *The Near East* writes as follows:

One of the most serious public nuisances of Cairo are the waifs and strays, the little boys and girls who hang about the streets begging and importuning passers-by, jumping on and off trams, etc., and who, mixing with the low-class element, bid fair in time to swell the latter's numbers, and eventually turn to a life of vice and crime. There is undoubtedly a serious moral obligation on the authorities in regard to these children, whom, if they are abandoned by their parents, or, as is the case with so many, are orphans, it is the duty of the community at large to look after and train up to be useful members of society.

The Cairo police have for some time carried on a small school, in which a limited number of those waifs and strays have been sent, and where they are given some elementary training, but the problem is so serious, owing to the large number of these children now on the streets, that the Government has decided to take action itself. The Ministry of Education has drawn up a scheme for the creation of a certain number of industrial schools to which the younger of these waifs and strays can be sent, and where they may receive instruction and training—physical, moral, and vocational—which it is hoped may fit them to earn their own livelihood and become respectable citizens. These schools are not intended to interfere with the work of the reformatories, which are for children who have committed offences against the law, but they will be limited to boys and girls who, as far as is known, have committed no serious legally punishable offence, and who are physically and mentally sound. The Government is to be congratulated on having made a move in this matter, and it is to be hoped that no obstacle will be set up to the carrying out of what is undoubtedly most vital rescue work.

BOOK REVIEWS

Der Islam Einst und Jetzt. By Traugott Mann. pp. 150. Gilt top, profusely illustrated, 5 colored maps. Verlag von Velhagen und Klasing. Bielefeld und Leipzig, 1914. Price, 5 marks.

Published on the eve of the War, "Islam Past and Present" is among the last offerings of the scholarship of Germany before she put down the pen of the savant to wield the sword of the Turk. To students of the Islamic world the book is a gift which need provoke no "*Timeo Danaos*." It is the latest issue of the well-known series of elegant historical treatises, *Monographien zur Weltgeschichte*, appearing in Leipzig under the editorship of Professor Eduard Heyck, in collaboration with a corps of German specialists. It is uniform and closely related with the editor's own vivid chronicle of Palestine and the Crusades, (*Die Kreuzzüge und das Heilige Land*.) The author, Dr. Traugott Mann, has produced a work at once learned and lucid, fresh and fascinating, brief and brilliant—a marvel of condensation. He has done in succinct manner for the average German reader today, what August Müller did for the critical student of Islam thirty-five years ago in his comprehensive survey of Moslem expansion, *Der Islam im Morgenund Abendland*. Indeed, the present monograph may be suggestively described as an emended miniature of Müller's ample, still classical, though at some points superseded, volumes. Yet, severely compacted as it is, Dr. Mann's production is no mere compendium or secondhand epitome. It is a series of clear-cut cameos, aglow with original verve.

There are five chapters dealing successively with Pre-Islamic Arabia, Mohammed, The Koran, Religious and Political Development, Islam in Modern Times. The range and sequence of subjects is strikingly similar to that of the Dutch Professor Hurgonje's *American Lectures*,¹ but the treatment is somewhat less popular, and is richer in historical detail. Less discursive as to topics than Professor Margoliouth's excellent little handbook,² so widely circulated in England and America, the German work has a clearer perspective and a statelier stride.

Dr. Mann has striven, for the most part successfully, to write as an impartial historian. On points of scholarly debate his judgments partake of the middle way between extreme deductions. For example, on the question of pre-Mohammedan Arabian culture, he will not concede to the archaeologists that the rise of Islam was simply a phase of the final "up-flaring" (*Aufflackern*) of a high preceding civilization threatened with extinction. Neither will he approve the picture of the *Wekt-el-Jahiliya*, or "Time of Barbarism" in pagan Arabia so blackly painted by Moslem writers, who would exalt Mohammed into "the prodigious author of a new creation out of pre-existent nothing"—(*der übergewaltige Schöpfer eines Neuen aus dem vorherigen Nichts*.) (p. 3) The Founder of Islam, our author opines, inherited not only survivals of indigenous cultures which flourished in various strains in certain sections of the Peninsula (whose religious and political development

¹ Mohammedanism: Its Origin, Religious and Political Growth, and Present State. By C. Snouck Hurgronje. Putnam's.

² Mohammedanism. By D. S. Margoliouth. Williams and Norgate. (Home University Library).

³ Cf. Goldziher: Muhammedanische Studien, Vol. I, p. 220 *et. seq.*

was by no means uniform), but also the indubitable impress of contemporary rabbinic Judaism and distorted Christianity. Regarding the details of the Christian contact Dr. Mann is much more hesitant than most other writers. He rules out of court the stories of the Prophet's visits to Syrian monks, and dismisses as unproven the supposed influence from the Gnostic Elkesites of Syria and East Jordan. Candor inhibits him from setting down any reliably attested facts about the Prophet's personal relations with the Christians of Yemen or Abyssinia, or Mecca, or even with the surviving northern communities of the former Christian states of Hira and Palmyra. Dr. Mann has a keen scent for legend and pious story. To suspect is to eliminate. There is no mention of Mary, the Christian Coptic maid. But the numerous Christian references and parallels (*sic*) in the Koran and in the Hadith are acknowledged as convincing evidence that the Prophet's acquaintance with Christians and with Christian traditions must have been extensive (p. 28).

With these guarded admissions of Islam's debt to religious influences antecedent and extant, Dr. Mann hastens to affirm Mohammed's originality. The epoch-making power of the Prophet's mission, he declares, lay not in its syncretistic absorption but in its antithesis to the past (p. 3).

In estimating the personality of Mohammed, the author is equally determined to beat his own path between the diverging highways of enthusiasts. He will walk with neither the detractors nor the panegyrists. He has, it is intimated, severely analysed the results of the latest researches, has sifted fact from fantasy, and has divested himself of those occidental presuppositions which, he thinks, have lead astray other Western biographers in their attempts to interpret the "differently fashioned Oriental." With this preparation he will limn for us the real maker of the new religion which, in the 7th century A. D., set all the East aflame.

According to Dr. Mann, Mohammed was neither the highly idealized "God-impacted mediator" (*Gott-ergriffener Grübler*) of Lamartine, nor the sordid monstrosity of the Crusaders. He is not to be dismissed as an hallucinated epileptic (as, e. g., by Sprenger), or an idle dreamer; on the other hand, his "revelations" are no more to be dogmatically spurned than is Paul's vision on the Damascus road. Dr. Mann defends the Prophet from gross sensuality, hails him as a herald of righteousness, but straightway pulls him down from the pedestal of Carlyle. A hero he will certainly not allow him to be, much less a saint. Neither was he a conscious falsifier (*bewusster Lügner*), nor a self-deluded impostor; yet his compromises are undenied. Against Sir William Muir, it is held, he was sincere from first to last. A man of many faults, conceiving himself to be the chosen of Allah, "a mighty devotee of God and eternity," he confounded the human and the divine by unconsciously yielding to the temptation which Christ withstood with the words, "My kingdom is not of this world." He is finally summed up as "the powerfully stirred man of God who became a politician, or, rather, a genuine Arabian robber-prince"—(*ein echt arabischer Raubfürst*)—himself unaware of his spiritual decline (pp. 44-47). So, in the end, Dr. Mann gives us quite as paradoxical and mysterious a Mohammed as does the Koran itself; in the words of the Oxford historian, "the strangest of moral enigmas." But the portrayal is interesting, since it stirs up anew the whole question of the Prophet's character.

Chapter III is a masterly summary of the history and doctrines of the Koran, and is followed in Chapter IV by a vivid sketch of the development and diffusion, both political and religious, of Islam among the nations.

Not its style alone, but the beauty of its form causes the book to smack of Müller's embellished masterpiece and to stand out in unrivalled distinction among recent introductory manuals. Bound in fine linen, white and marine-blue, chastely entitled and decorated with gold, its enamelled pages gleam with the most exquisite craftsmanship of printer and engraver. It would seem that the most reluctant reader would be tempted by the æsthetic glamor with which the subject is invested. Here is Mohammedanism decked in its most artistic and alluring attire.

The wealth of illustrations, enclosed in so small a compass, is amazing. Mosques, museums and monuments, all the way from Turkestan to Spain, from Hadramaut to Holland, bring tribute to the author's attempt to spread before the untraveled reader the most picturesque symbols of Moslem achievement within its vast arena. There are 166 illustrations in all. They range from the crude Sabæan tablets, Aramaic steles, Nabatæan ruins and Cufic inscriptions of pre-Islamic Arabia, to the clustered pilgrim-shrines of Medina and of Mecca; from the Bedouin tents and rock-hewn dwellings of the Arabian desert, to the architectural splendors of Cairo, Konia and Constantinople; from the ivory bas-reliefs of Baghdad, to the domes and minarets of Damascus; from Timur's tomb in Samarkand, to Sheikh Safi's faience-windowed mosque in Ardebil; from the frescoes of the "forty-pillared hall" of Abbas the Great at Ispahan, to the sumptuous sanctuary of Selim II at Adrianople; from the glittering towers of mediæval Jerusalem to the glorious screens and stalactite arches of the Alhambra. Portraits are given of important historical leaders, Mohammed the Prophet, the sceptered Tamerlane, Suleiman the Magnificent and his consort Roxelane, Mohammed II—conqueror of Constantinople, Bayazet—"the thunderbolt of the Bosphorus," the black-bearded Boabdil of Granada, with his bespangled tunic and his jewelled sword; also, other be-turbaned sultans, and even as modern a personage as the heir-apparent to the throne of Bahrein. Particularly fine are the nineteen prints of typical Arab buildings, landscapes and inhabitants, from the collection of the German traveler, Hermann Burkhardt, whom death overtook in Yemen in 1909. The colored plates include gorgeous title-pages and elaborately chased covers of *de luxe* Turkish editions of the Koran, brilliant Persian manuscripts, prayer-carpet and wall-tapestries of scarlet, old rose, green and gold; and, richest of all, the frontispiece, an illuminated Persian miniature of the 16th century, representing Mohammed's ascent to Heaven. The five colored maps show the bygone kingdoms of the Caliphate, the shifting boundaries of the Othman dominion from 1359 to 1913, and the parts of the world now religiously occupied by Islam.

A word must be said about the seductiveness of such a book. Over-emphasis on the beautiful has its dangers even in historical writing. It is to be feared, an unsophisticated reader would get from Dr. Mann a far too roseate view of what Mohammedan civilization has been and is. From these fair pages one catches nothing of the stench of the bazaars, the poverty, illiteracy and social squalor of the masses in Moslem countries; nothing of the dirt and dilapidation, the stupor and stagnation of the average Mohammedan town; nothing of the stifling miasma of repression, monotony and deterioration—the moral

paralysis—which characterizes even the classic lands of the Faith. In the story of Moslem conquest and expansion, stately language veils the brutal butcheries which, even down into recent times, have followed Mohammed's sanction of the sword. As calmly as if he were discussing American democracy does Dr. Mann sketch the political fortunes of the Ottomans. Not a hint is conveyed of the labyrinth of iniquity through which Turkey has tottered to its downfall. Abdul Hamid is politely dismissed as a political *passé*, but no mention is made of his massacres of Armenian Christians, which, even for two decades before the Great War, shocked the heart of decent humanity. There are no pictures of slave-markets or harems. There is not a paragraph in reprobation of Islam's age-long blight on womanhood. On the contrary, an apology (p. 77) is offered for the veil, the purdah and even for polygamy and concubinage! The camera presents no faces of the millions of disheveled, neglected, Moslem children, nor of the fierce semi-barbarians who, like the Kurds and Baluchis, mumble prayers toward Mecca and live by lance and plunder. The literary touch is so lightsome that one does not feel the dead weight of tradition and animism, which hangs on the Moslem mind.⁵ All this is another story, about which the author has chosen to be silent.

From the viewpoint of Christian missions it is in the conclusions and suggestions of the final chapter that the present book reveals its chief defect. Here the dispassionate historian loses his critical acumen to indulge in theoretical musings, dangerously akin to the ex-Kaiser's flattering compromise when, in 1898, that world-aspiring monarch consorted with the Sultan at Constantinople, linked Pan-Islamism with German propaganda, and, as "*Hadji Wilhelm*," at Damascus, decked the sepulcher of Saladin with flowers.

How does our author diagnose the disease of the modern Mohammedan world? All its present woes and problems he ascribes to that "catastrophe" which forever destroyed its political unity, viz., the Mongolian invasions of Western Asia, beginning in the 13th century with the "cataclysm of the Great Khans," ending with the death of Tamerlane in 1405 (pp. 110-112). This is a sad load to heap on the heads of Hulagu and the Terrible Tartar of Samarkand! The modern assassins may wash their hands in innocence! Islam's general ailment, according to Dr. Mann, is not one of corruption but only of disruption. The bones are broken but the blood is pure. Islam has not failed because of inherent incompetence or insufficiency to meet progressively the higher needs of man, but because, through no fault of its own, it lost its political solidarity and has been prevented from making "any essential progress for seven centuries" (p. 110). Such is the argument. The responsibility is with those mediæval Mongols! What boots it that the ferocious hordes of Timur, "the Scourge of God," were themselves disciples of the Prophet? *Eo non exculpantur!*

In considering the proffered solution of the present status we must charitably remember that Dr. Mann wrote before the War. What is his remedy for the ills of the Near East, and of Islam as a whole? Not a superficial varnishing with European culture (*oberflächliche Überkleidung mit europäischem Kulturfirnis*), nor a puritanical revival of the primitive faith and practice after the manner of the Hanbalites and Wahhabites. So far, so good. Our author's panacea is wrapped up in two words, "*Fortbildung*" and "*Kultur*"—by which he means the further development of Islam within the limits and toward the goal of a strictly autochthonous (*bodenständig*) Mussulman

⁵Cf. Zwemer's *The influence of Animism on Islam*, Macmillan, 1920.

civilization, that shall take its place in the modern age. Apparently he is not discouraged by what thirteen centuries have actually brought forth in lands moulded by Koranic tradition; for, hidden and astir in the soil of Islam, he thinks, are the seeds of its own redemption. Islam has shown, he says, a far greater genius of adaptability than has Christianity; therefore, it has power of itself to become for the Orient a thoroughly up-to-date religion, competent to promote and to satisfy the highest demands of spiritual and social life, and to supply a firm foundation for free, progressive government.

This is an astounding thesis. One's faith is severely strained by such optimism, in view of what has transpired within the past fifteen years in the foremost Moslem state—the land of the Holy Caliphate itself. The attempt of the Young Turks, through the Revolution of 1908, to open the gates of a new dawn for the Ottoman Empire, issued in a night of terror. The ideal of a modern constitutional régime of freedom, enlightenment, justice and tolerance collapsed in a new reign of tyranny and horror unsurpassed in the blood-soaked annals of dethroned despotism. The Committee of Union and Progress was swept into the tides of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turanianism—slogans which register the supreme corporate aspirations of modern Islamic leadership, but at whose revealed content the world has stood aghast. The terrible reaction was perfectly true to Koranic form, and lies at the door of the Moslem creed. In the blaze of the World War Dr. Mann's idealism must have shriveled to ashes. Will fair blossoms of indigenous culture and progress spring from the newest paths of slaughter, lust and loot, which mark the latest Armenian atrocities, all the way from Trebizond to the Syrian Desert, from the Aegean to the Caspian Sea? In the orthodox and efficient barbarism which, with the name of Allah on its lips, has murdered a million people, regardless of age or sex, shall we find the germs of spontaneous redemption?

It is pertinent to inquire whether, in the more distant past, there is anything which reasonably nourishes the expectation that the Moslem ethos will yet produce and ensoul a self-evolved civilization, at once progressive and enduring, such as Dr. Mann conceives, to meet the awakening needs of the modern East. Looking backward the sober historian contemplates a series of quick and usually violent aggressions, brilliant up-soarings, and rapid assimilations, followed by equally rapid dissolutions and abysmal collapses. In no case has Islam demonstrated capacity either to originate or to uphold permanently a high type of progressive culture. In so far as it has been a constructive force, its rôle has been that of stimulator, borrower and transmitter rather than that of creator and sustainer. This is seen by a glance at the times and places of its highest ascendancy. By common consent its fairest fabric was the vast Arabian Empire which, a century after Mohammed's death, extended from the Indus to the Guadalquivir. The dazzling era of arts, sciences, letters and commerce which reached the zenith of its splendor under the Abbasside Caliphs at Baghdad, brought even Europe to the feet of Saracenic learning, and contributed to the West a precious heritage. But of the culture thus developed and communicated two facts are abundantly confirmed by the latest researches, viz: (1) the Arab conquerors derived and compounded their new civilization largely from the pre-Islamic cultures of India, Persia and Byzantium. (2) No sooner had it blossomed into the Golden Age of Mohammedan Literature (754-874 A. D.)—the period illustrated by Harun-al-Rashid—than, through the corruption of succeeding caliphs, so-

cial disintegration began—"a process of rapid decline into irremediable decay."⁶ The whole structure, with its pomp and learning, battered by the Seljuks, finally broke under the hammer of the Mongols, and fell back into the desert.

A reflection of Damascus and Baghdad, at first, was the Moslem state in Spain, which, under the emirs of Cordova (711-1031), made the Arabian schoolmen the teachers of the Christian West, in an outburst of intellectual development that ultimately outshone the glories of the East. In education, wealth, and prosperity the Iberian Peninsula became in the tenth century the foremost country of Europe. But of this achievement of the Arab and Berber conquerors, the latest historian of Spain, on the authority of Altamira, says: "It was more largely through the efforts of others whom they imitated than through innovations of their own that they reached their high estate."⁷ Fifty years after its most lustrous period (912-976) the mighty caliphate, which had embraced almost the whole Peninsula, split into warring units, and, soon after, dwindled into the kingdom of Granada. The descendants of the first fiery invaders, who hacked their way to victory in the name of Mohammed, were unable to withstand the counter oppression of Spanish Catholicism. With the expulsion of 500,000 Moriscos (1610) the Islamic faith and community were completely extirpated. The work of eight centuries, except the treasures of Arabic learning bequeathed to the Christians, disappeared in the hills of North Africa.

Persia had a second golden prime as an Islamic state, after the downfall of the foreign Mongol khans, with the rise in the 16th century of the native of Safavi shahs, who made the Shiah doctrine—Persia's peculiar modification of the Faith—the religion of the throne. Under the illustrious Abbas, "greatest of Persia's sovereigns since the Moslem conquest," the city of Meshed, enshrining the tombs of the Imam Ali Riza and of the great caliph, Harun-al-Rashid, became a goal of pilgrimage for all Central Asia, while the enamelled palaces of Ispahan made that new capital fairer than the Sasanian Ctesiphon. Art and literature, schools and commerce flourished under the stimulus of religious zeal. The tribes of Iran were united under a single rule as never since the days of Cyrus. But the bright imperial edifice of unity and prosperity no sooner began to attract the embassies of Europe than it sank into a decadence from which it has not revived.

Further examples of sanguinary subjugation, fanatical propaganda, violent syncretism and despotic dominion, issuing in cultural achievements soon to deteriorate, are Egypt, Morocco and the Khanates of Middle Asia. But one must look to India for Islam's greatest opportunity since the fall of Baghdad—and for its most signal failure. The Mugal Empire was, in some respects, the most resplendent pageant in the long history of Indian monarchies. Built on three centuries of the bloodiest invasions in Moslem annals, it arose in 1526 with Babur, the Tartar kinsman of Ghengis Khan and Tamerlane. Millions of Hindus were slain. Millions more were bribed and beaten into the Faith, although at times there was peaceful missionary penetration. Brahman priests were butchered by thousands and Hindu temples demolished to become foundations of Moslem palaces. In a brilliant efflorescence of arts, letters, philosophy, and a religious eclecticism in which Moslem doctrine was largely influenced by Aryan speculation, the Empire reached its

⁶Cf. Nicholson: *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 257.

⁷Chapman: *A history of Spain*. Macmillan, 1908. Cf. Rafael Altamira: *Historia de España y de la Civilización Española*.

acme in the flourishing reigns of Akbar and Shahjehan. Yet, within little more than two centuries after its foundation, it withered—a fair plant with shallow roots—under the successors of Aurangzeb. It has left, to commemorate the departed glory of its capitals, such unrivalled creations as the Jama Masjid at Delhi, and at Agra, the loveliest mausoleum ever reared by man—the Taj Mahal.⁸

The Turkish Empire, of course, is the latest and most conspicuous product and patron of Moslem culture in modern times. It presents no departure from the common story. A horde of nomads settled in northern Anatolia in the thirteenth century. Their natural vigor kindled by fierce Islamic zeal, they hurled their barbaric might successfully against Mongol and Christian. Supplanting the waning Seljuks in the East, they swept westward into Europe, subduing and assimilating everything to the structure of their extending rule. The maximum came in the sixteenth century with Suleiman the Magnificent, whose dominion over 50,000,000 people of many races reached from Azov to Aden, from the Caspian to the Danube and the western Mediterranean. Constantinople was the crowning jewel of it all. Schools of Turkish literature and art arose, devoid of originality—inspired by Persia and Europe. But as Dr. Mann himself observes, “immediately from the highest pinnacle of success the downfall of the Empire ensued” (p. 119). From the death of Suleiman onward there was gradual degeneration into the Turkey of today.

The general historical result in indigenous culture is inferior to that set forth by the author (ch. V). With Turkey now disgraced and dismembered, and Persia reduced to vassalage, not a single free, independent Moslem state remains, with any sign or promise of permanence or cultural resurgence, apart from some dynamic not of its own making. If we have spoken of church and state in a single breath, it is because the Moslem system makes them logically inseparable. Neither past nor present will sustain the vision of the future painted in this book.

Dr. Mann's confidence that Islam can fashion out of “its own spirit and foundations” a modernized culture of emancipation and progress—which shall be distinctively Oriental and still essentially Moslem, he rests chiefly on the reform movements with which Islam has bristled since almost its beginnings, and especially upon the newer movements now active in various countries. He fails to note that, with the exception of Wahhabiism, Sanussism, and some forms of Mahdiism, these “stirrings and strivings” of the Moslem heart are, not so much reforms of Islam, as revolts away from it. This is certainly true of sufism. Dr. Mann does not seem to know that the present Baha'i movement, which he hails as the capital proof of his “development” thesis, has openly broken with Islam. Its mystical eclecticism and broad universalism are utterly irreconcilable with the Koran. Nor can the Panjabic Ahmadiyya movement, whose founder announced himself at once Krishnaite Avatar, Moslem Mahdi and Christian Messiah, be claimed as a purely Islamic way-mark of indigenous culture, despite the anti-Christian declamations of Mirza Ghulam Ahmed. The Ahmadiyya, the politico-religious propaganda of the Aga Kahn and the Indian Ismailis, the newer movements in education, such as are centered in the Mohammedan College at Aligarh, and many other reforming circles, are directly traceable to Christian, or, at least, Western, impact. Lord Cromer says: “Reformed Islam is Islam no longer.” In Islam the most hopeful developments are away from the Koran and Mohammed. In Christianity progress lies in a closer following of the

⁸Cf. Vincent A. Smith: *Oxford History of India*. pp. 217-468.

New Testament teaching—a fuller conformity to Jesus, whom even the best Christians have never yet overtaken.

Finally, Dr. Mann does not favor Christian missions to Moslems. He regards them as both a failure and an impertinence, because, he thinks, they are purveyors of Western culture. Education, commerce, literature, travel, material exploitation from the West—these are legitimate as bringers of fertile stimulus to indigenous development, but the Gospel is the great hindrance because it is Western! He lauds the mission schools of Turkey, for their “superb and gigantic accomplishments in education,” but is in desperate haste to have them superseded by national schools, ere they contaminate the land with Western civilization. Dr. Mann thinks of Christianity in terms of limitation. He misses the glory of its universal mission, and the world-wide duty of Christians. He would bar the Gospel at the Bosphorus, except among Christian communities of the Near East. But where indeed does the West begin? Does Dr. Mann not observe that the whole East is astir with Occidental leaven? As to the forms of the future Oriental culture, no one wants them to be Western. But if the Moslem East should be reborn with a Christian soul, would that not be something far transcending the further culture of the obsolescent? Dr. Mann leaves us unconvinced that anything less than the spiritual regeneration which Christ alone can impart, will meet the present need of the Moslem world.

This manual will never serve as a mission study text-book on Islam. (That function, even in Germany, must continue to be discharged by the works of Dr. Zwemer, Canon Gairdner and Dr. Gottfried Simon). But German readers will find here a delightful possession. To English-speaking students wishing to acquire a reading-knowledge of German in order to acquaint themselves at first-hand with the standard authorities in that language the book is especially commended, as an introduction to the larger works of Wellhausen, Weil, Müller, Goldziher, *et al.* It contains the whole vocabulary of the subject, in most attractive setting.

“Mohammed’s truth lay in a holy book,
Christ’s in a sacred life.

“So while the world rolls on from change to change,
And realms of thought expand,
The letter stands without expanse or range
Stiff as a dead man’s hand.

“While, as the life-blood fills the glowing form,
The Spirit Christ has shed
Flows through the ripening ages fresh and warm,
More felt than heard or read.”

CHARLES T. PAUL.

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The Rising Tide of Color against White World-Supremacy. By Lothrop Stoddard, A. M. Ph. D. Charles Scribner’s Sons, New York, 1920; pp. 320. Price \$3.00.

From the introduction written by Madison Grant to the last page of this important but inconclusive study, we have a note of alarm and the voice of a prophet of pessimism who sees in the rising tide of color a challenge of white world-supremacy which spells disaster. “Now that Asia, in the guise of Bolshevism with Semitic leadership and Chinese executioners, is organizing an assault upon western Europe, the new states—Slavic-Alpine in race, with little Nordic blood—

may prove to be not frontier guards of western Europe but vanguards of Asia in Central Europe. None of the earlier Alpine states have held firm against Asia, and it is more than doubtful whether Poland, Bohemia, Rumania, Hungary, and Jugo-Slavia can face the danger successfully, now that they have been deprived of the Nordic ruling classes through democratic institutions. This is suicide pure and simple, and the first victim of this amazing folly will be the white man himself."

The book seeks to prove this thesis by describing in Part I the rising tide of color—yellow, brown, black and red. There are three maps showing the distribution of the primary races, the categories of white world-supremacy, and the distribution of the white races. Mr. Stoddard estimates that of the total number of human beings living to-day about 550,000,000 are white, 1,150,000,000 are colored, so that the colored races outnumber the whites more than two to one. The yellow race, he says, numbers a little over 500,000,000; the browns are a little less; while the total of the black race is about 150,000,000. In this ethnic makeup of the world, he sees a formidable danger because of the declining birth-rate among the whites, their broken unity shown by the War, and most of all the bitter resentment of white predominance and exclusiveness awakened in the other races for a number of reasons.

Our readers will be specially interested in the chapters that deal with Pan-Islamism and its peril (pp. 54-104). He quotes from Moslem writers, and although sometimes exaggerating the vitality of Islam and the numbers of proselytes gained, presents this aspect of the present unrest very forcibly. "The proselyting power of Islam" he says, "is extraordinary, and its hold upon its votaries is even more remarkable. Throughout history there has been no single instance where a people, once become Moslem, has ever abandoned the faith. Extirpated they may have been, like the Moors of Spain, but extirpation is not apostasy. This extreme tenacity of Islam, this ability to keep its hold, once it has got a footing, under all circumstances short of downright extirpation, must be borne in mind when considering the future of regions where Islam is today advancing." The author says that although no general Islamic explosion took place when they were summoned to a Holy War in 1914, there was trouble in practically every land under allied control, and the end is not yet. When the East saw that the peace settlement was based not upon idealism but upon secret treaties and imperialistic ambition "it was fired with a moral indignation and a sense of outraged justice never known before." When describing the spread of Islam in Africa and showing that this religion is the closest link between the brown and black races, Mr. Stoddard admits the power of Christian missions to stem the tide. "Certainly, all white men, whether professing Christians or not, should welcome the success of missionary efforts in Africa. The degrading fetishism and demonology which sum up the native pagan cults cannot stand, and all negroes will some day be either Christians or Moslems. In so far as he is Christianized, the negro's savage instincts will be restrained and he will be disposed to acquiesce in white tutelage. In so far as he is Islamized, the negro's warlike propensities will be inflamed, and he will be used as the tool of Arab Pan-Islamism seeking to drive the white man from Africa and make the continent its very own."

The second and third parts of the book deal with the ebbing tide of the white races, their loss of prestige, the process which is shatter-

ing the white solidarity, the break of the outer dykes and the peril that threatens the inner dykes through immigration, mixed marriage and the present economic system. The book is too important to be passed over, and yet its conclusions are based on a false premise. The studies made by John Oakesmith ("Race and Nationality," London, 1919), and reviewed in our Quarterly, are a good corrective to the alarming theory of white race superiority. Dr. Oakesmith shows that there are other factors more important than race. While repudiating race as the basis of nationality and patriotism, he explains the former and defends the latter as founded on hereditary tradition and history. The supreme factor in all races for good or for ill is religion, and Mr. Stoddard does not give due emphasis to Christianity and its power to change racial characteristics and elevate the lowest races, so called, within a generation. The non-Christian races and peoples of the world are not the white man's burden, much less the white man's beast of burden. The solidarity of the race is far more important than distinctions of color or the accident of environment. There is a deeper unity than mere physical resemblance, for "God hath made of one blood all nations of men," and in Christ Jesus there is no distinction. The basic factor in human progress is not race, nor politics, but *religion*.

S. M. Z.

The Near East Crossroads of the World. By William H. Hall. Interchurch Press, New York City; pp. 230. Price 75 cts.

"The theme of this book is: what the war has brought to the Near East; what it has brought to political life through the break-up of old, outside, foreign dominations and the release of inborn national longings; what it has brought in racial relationships, in social and industrial organization, and in religious development; what it has brought to education and to the work of Christian missions."

The various chapters are interesting, the pictures new, and the conclusions sane and hopeful. The author is well qualified for his task and knows the Near East through long residence at Beirut. We are therefore the more surprised that the one country which is the center and pivot of the present unrest, political and religious, namely Arabia, is barely touched. Mecca is of more importance than Damascus if we would understand the Near East; it is the cross-roads of the whole Moslem world. The work of missions in Arabia is scarcely mentioned and in this respect the book is not up-to-date. The treatment of Islam, the dominating religion of the Near East, is also scrappy, and not always accurate. No one who has (see page 73) visited the bazaars or slept in the tents with the Arabs would say that the "name of Deity does not appear in the common oaths and curses" or that the third commandment "seems to be written in the very primary consciousness of these naturally reverent people of the East." The fact is that the Arabic language has adopted as common verbs a number of profane expressions which are used unconsciously even by missionaries.

The Prisoners of the Red Desert. By Capt. Gwatkin-Williams; Thornton-Butterworth Company, London, 1920; pp. 304. Price 7s. 2d.

This is one of the most fascinating tales of the heroism shown in the great World War that we have heard. It records the torpedoing of H. M. S. Tara and the miraculous rescue of the survivors by the Duke of Westminster and his men from the Senoussi Arabs in the trackless Libyan Desert. Neither starvation, torture, disease or death of their comrades or hope deferred destroyed the faith of the Commander and most of his company in a divine providence. In his Pre-

face Capt. Gwatkin-Williams commends the book to those who are "faithless and submit themselves only to the blind gods of force and chance." Although the men in their desperation would fight like wild beasts among themselves for food, he shows how, nevertheless, the sick and helpless were the first to receive tender care and consideration of all. The moral of the story can be read between the lines: man is no mere tool; he is God's workman, and all things work together for good to those who love God. Incidentally we learn much of the life of the desert Arab, its joys and sorrows, and their fanatic devotion to the religion of Islam.

The Stranger (A Novel). By Arthur Bullard; The Macmillan Company, New York, 1920; pp. 331. Price \$2.00.

The author has written other novels under the pen name "Albert Edwards." In this story the East meets the West through the adventures of an Anglo-Saxon who has turned Moslem in North Africa, travelled widely and lands in New York. It is a tale of human contrasts, a love-story sounding the sex-note too insistently, and idealizing Islam and its institutions. The references to the Koran and the Moslem creed are ludicrous in their inaccuracy, and the author gives a dig at missionary books on the Near East. It is not true as this story alleges that "the condition of our women has been most grossly and wilfully represented."

Marvellous Mesopotamia. By Canon J. T. Parfit. S. W. Partridge & Co. Ltd, London. Price 6/-net pp. 259.

In fifteen fascinating chapters one who lived under the Turk in the days of stagnation and oppression tells the story of the marvellous changes wrought by the war and British occupation.

The Bagdad railway as one of the causes of the war, German intrigue in the Gulf, the Battle of Shaiba and the heroic defence of Kut are introductory to a full account of Mesopotamia, its immense undeveloped resources, its population, religions, shrines and strategic importance. The author's easy optimism is courageous if not always contagious and his tribute to the men who fell as "the road makers" for those who are to follow is eloquent. A book to read and commend. We note only one inexcusable omission. In the chapter on Christian Missions there is no reference to the work of the American Arabian Mission established since 1890, and with hospitals, schools etc., at Busrah, Kuwait, Bahrein and Muscat, not to speak of their work at Nasariyah and Amara. A Bible and book depot was opened by them at Kut-al-Amara under great difficulties as early as 1895. It is today the only organized mission at work in Mesopotamia.

The Peoples of Zanzibar, Their Customs and Religious Beliefs. By Godfrey Dale, M. A., Archdeacon of Zanzibar. The Universities' Mission to Central Africa, 9 Dartmouth St., Westminster, S. W. 1, 1920; pp. 124.

A monograph prepared at the request of the Bishop of Zanzibar to supply newcomers with a manual and give the people at home some rough idea of the nature of the situation. Zanzibar has a mixed population of Arabs, Negroes, Hindoos, Parsees, and a handful of Europeans, all these nations, countries and tongues, bound together in the bundle of life to act and react on each other under a British Protectorate and in a Moslem atmosphere. There are chapters on the religious ideas of the African—witchcraft and magic, Mohammedan beliefs as well as the other religious sects represented. The points of contact between African paganism and Islam are indicated and it is

clearly shown how Animism unites both by the practice of magic and the belief in *jinn*. Aside from the list of societies which represent Christianity to the peoples of the Island nothing is said of the history of these missions or their results.

The Day of the Crescent. By G. E. Hubbard, Cambridge University Press, 1920, pp. 242. Price 10sh. 6d.

The author was British Vice-Consul at Mosul before the war and while delving among the bookshelves of the Foreign Office Library discovered a number of ancient books in Turkish by "a Flemish diplomat, a French artist, a Polish soldier, a Venetian dragoman and an English man of science." He succeeded with wonderful spirit in getting all this material together and gives a picture "of the unique military and political system which the Turks had developed when they reached the summit of their power." Now that Turkey has lost its position and its power this retrospect of her day of glory is of the deepest interest. The sixteen chapters are fascinating in their style and full of interesting material to the student of Turkish history. In 1554 the Spanish Ambassador wrote of the Turks as follows:

"When I compare the difference between their soldiers and ours, I stand amazed to think what will be the event; for certainly their soldiers must needs conquer and ours be vanquished, both cannot prosperously stand together, for on their side there is a mighty, strong and wealthy empire, great armies, experience in war, a veteran soldiery, a long series of victories, patience in toil, concord, order, discipline, frugality and vigilance. On our side there is public want, private luxury, strength weakened, minds discouraged, an unaccustomedness to labour and arms, soldiers refractory, commanders covetous, a contempt of discipline, licentiousness, rashness, drunkenness, gluttony, and, what is worst of all they are used to conquer, we to be conquered. Can any man doubt in this case what the event will be?"

The terrible story of Christian prisoners in the Dark Tower of Constantinople and their slavery in the galleys is vividly portrayed. In these days the ambassadors of Europe were considered dogs.

The author shows how the seeds of corruption brought forth bitter fruit in the end.

The Turk was a simple primitive creature when he first emerged on to the Anatolian plains to conquer a powerful empire but his victory over the Greeks contained the seeds of his own ruin. The national failings which had weakened the Greek defence infected their conquerors, who soon acquired the true Byzantine taste for lavish show and voluptuous luxury. This, with its inevitable accompaniment of bribery and corruption, slowly undermined the government of Turkey in the succeeding centuries, sapping the virility of her leaders and changing the character of her sultans from hardy tribal chiefs to the most contemptible of debauched despots. The process of the disease is easily traceable in the series of narratives embodied in the present volume.

Z.

A History of Persian Literature Under Tartar Dominion. (A. D. 1265-1502). By Eward G. Browne. Cambridge University Press, 1920. pp. 586.

Fourteen years have elapsed since Professor Browne published the second volume of his literary history of Persia. The first volume dealt with the earliest literature until the time of Firdawsi; the second from that period until Sa-di. The present volume deals with the stormy

period when Persia was under Tartar dominion. The volume is divided into three books as follows:

Book I, The Mongol Il-Khans of Persia, from the death of Hulagu to the extinction of the dynasty (A. H. 663-737—A. D. 1265-1337). Book II, From the birth to the death of Timur-I-Lang, commonly called Tamerlane (A. H. 736-807—A. D. 1335-1405). Book III, From the death of Timur to the rise of the Safawi Dynasty (A. H. 807-907—A. D. 1405-1502). The historians, the poets and the mystics of these three periods pass in review before the reader. There is an abundance of quotation and appreciative criticism which sometimes runs into superlatives. Some attention is given to the Arabic literature of this period, although Al-Baydawi's famous commentary is passed over in two lines. The interesting chapters for the student of Islam are those that deal with Hafiz Jami and the other great mystic poets. One is astonished at the paradoxical character of these representatives of Persian thought. Yet we must not be surprised, for as Professor Browne reminds us "it is common even today to meet with persons who in the course of a single day will alternately present themselves as pious Moslems, heedless libertines, confirmed sceptics, and mystical pantheists, or even incarnations of the Deity" (p. 299).

The theology of Persian mysticism revolves around two poles, the unity of God's being which is ordinary orthodoxy, and the unity of all being, pantheism. This is the inspiration of the poet in his highest flights and the rapture of his vision. "Formal or exoteric Unitarianism is the declaration that there is only One God; esoteric Unitarianism is the conviction that there is only One Being who really exists." There are some beautiful examples, however, which almost strike a Christian note, showing the hunger of the human heart for a God who is closer to us than the distant Deity of the schools. Maghribi wrote:

"That One who was hidden from us came and became us,
And He who was of us and you became us and you.
The King of the topmost throne of Sovereignty condescended,
And, notwithstanding that there is no King save Him, became a beggar.
He who is exempted from poverty and wealth
Came in the garb of poverty in order to show forth (true) riches.
Who hath ever heard aught stranger than this, that one and the same
person

Became both substance and that peerless pearl
When it germinated became earth and heaven.
Into the raiment of 'how-ness' and 'why-ness' one cannot say
How and why that 'how-less' and 'why-less' Charmer of hearts entered.
His eyebrow revealed itself from the eyebrows of the beautiful,
Until it was pointed at by every finger, like the new moon.
In the garden of the Universe, like the straight cypress and the anemone,
He became both red-capped and green-robed.
That Sun of the Eternal Sphere shone forth
So that it became Western (Maghribi) and Eastern, Sun and Light."

We welcome that book, scholarly and delightful in its style, wealthy in its details, and illustrative material, and invaluable to the student of Moslem literature.

S. M. Z.

Shepard of Aintab. By Alice Shepard Riggs. Published by the Interchurch World Movement of North America, pp. 200. Price 75 cents and 25 cents in paper.

A brief record of a wonderful life of a missionary in Turkey written by his daughter. The book closes as it begins with the sending forth

of a young medical man and his bride—and reminds one of the royal proclamation "The king is dead, long live the king."

Shepard of Aintab is not dead, he lives in such sense as one of his patients expressed "I have never seen Jesus but I have seen Shepard." The many sidedness of this "good physician" is overwhelming to the reader. He was practical and spiritual as witness his own confession "Nothing I like better than a surgical operation and a prayer meeting." On finishing the book the reader will surely be lead to exclaim "There were giants in those days." The quotation from a letter to his son should be an inspiration to young men to do their very best and always be at their best. The book is more interesting than a novel. It is true and inspiring. Such broken hearts heal the open sore of Turkey.

La France en Syrie et en Cilicie, par Gustave Gautherot, Librairie Independante, Maison d'edition—Courbevoie (Seine) 1920, pp. 210. Frs. 7.50.

The author was connected with the Bureau of Information in the French Campaign in the Near East. The book was published after General Gouraud had decided the destiny of Syria by the occupation of Beirut.

In thirteen short chapters, we follow the story of early French contacts with Syria, the expedition from Egypt to Palestine in which France had a small part, Allenby's victory and the arrival of the Allies in Syria. The events that followed are related from the French standpoint, and the author characterises the attempt on the part of the British to establish an Arabian kingdom as "L'Imperialisme Anglo-Arabe" (Chapt. viii). He has no use for the Emir Faisal, and the Arab program generally; after events seem to have justified his judgment. According to recent French despatches, dated Beirut, "the Emir has never worked for anything save his own boundless personal ambition as a mere adventurer, and during the war led a weak contingent of undisciplined Bedouins of no military value. When danger threatened all he could do was to flee shamefully from Damascus, deserted by all, and leaving behind him, as sole vestiges of his careless administration, the ruins heaped together by the acts of brigandage he had so carefully contrived. Through his own personal extravagance, through the damage done by his followers, through his arbitrary measures, through forcible enlistment and heavy impositions, he hurled Syria into a serious economic and political crisis."

The book is somewhat one-sided, but gives an interesting account of events and ambitions from that standpoint. The maps are inferior but the illustrations are most interesting.

L. S. R.

The Islamic Magazine, (issued monthly) by the Shanghai Branch of The World Young Men's Islamic Association. 10 cents per copy.

This new publication in Chinese is edited by a clever young Chinese Moslem named Yin, who resides at Shanghai; it is an attempt to arouse the lethargic Moslems to a greater zeal for their Faith and to more interest in the affairs of their country and the world generally.

At the commencement the editor says: "It is hoped that our brethern will, after every time of worship, earnestly and reverently pray to God that He will soon cause the Moslem religion and the country of China, to change from weakness to strength, and from poverty to wealth, that they may no longer be imposed upon by others; and also pray that

real peace may soon come to the world for the good of mankind and of all creation."

The miscellaneous articles in the first number include matters relating to China, Turkey and France. Incidentally a wireless telegram is quoted from America to the effect that "prohibition Turkey" is now in the hands of the Allies and saloons are opened in Constantinople and drinking abounds, so that Turkey is being changed into a "wet" country, and help is asked from President Wilson of "the world's greatest prohibition country" to find some plan to help the Turks to drive out the evils of drink.

There are brief articles on Moslem subjects, in one of which readers are reminded that Jesus was a man of the "yellow race" as were all the other founders of religions, this race being the most honourable of all the races. It is also stated that the Moslem religion dates back over 8000 years, being the oldest of all.

The chief article in the paper is one written by the editor Yin, which is a plea for a revival amongst Moslems. The writer links together the country of China with the Moslem faith and speaks of both in similar terms, showing how both have flourished in the past, and are now in weak condition; the remedy is the same in both cases.

He says: "Our Young Men's Moslem Association is established for the purpose of trying to cure some of the ailments of individuals and of our country, and then of the whole world. Rome was not built in a day, and our success will only be gradual. The Y. M. C. A. was started in the seventeenth century (?) and see what it has accomplished and what a great organization it is now. If we pitiable Moslems and perishing Chinese will patiently plod in the same way we may have similar results; but there must be earnestness and sincerity and no deceiving of ourselves or others; I believe that those who have 'soul' and are not dead at heart will approve of these words of mine. In a hospital many kinds of medicine are required, and as one contribution to our aims this Association is issuing this monthly magazine, the purpose of which is to propagate the truth of Islam, to arouse men to patriotism, and to cause the virtue which is inherent in our religion, and the original civilization of China, to become brilliant again and reach the whole world, that there may be real peace in all the world and that we may all be one family, and all be worthy followers of the Highest Prophet" and so forth.

From which it will be seen that there are some, even in China, who lament the present condition of Islam, and are intent on improving things from their standpoint. Mr. Yin is acquainted with the Christian literature issued for Moslems, and has already criticised it; he will be a doughty opponent; at present he is fair and friendly, and we hope he will always continue to be so.

ISAAC MASON.

"Constantinople." (Lts Citës Franques and Levantines.) By Bertrand Bareilles. I Vol. 395 pp. Une planche hors taxe par Edgar Chahine, trente deux illustrations dans le texte par Adolphe Thiers et n plan de Constantinople. "Editions Bossard." 43. Rue Madame, Paris VIe. Prix 9frcs.

This unique description of life in one of the greatest of Eastern cities brings before the reader not so much the life, manners and customs of the Turk, as that of the foreigner and stranger within his gates. It is an attractive description of cosmopolitan life. The reader is carried in imagination from quarter to quarter of this wonderful city of the Golden Horn and of Santa Sofia, of mosques and

buildings unique and varied, while its several inhabitants, Levantine, Armenian, Jew and Greek with their individual characteristics, customs and superstitions, are outlined in turn. This book gives a far more accurate and intimate knowledge of the city than that of the average traveller who usually only obtains superficial knowledge from guide books and hasty sightseeing. T.

Les Oasis dans la Montagne. By Odette Keun, 1920. (Paris: Calmann-Levy.

Marrakech dans les Palmes. By Andre' Chevrillon, 1920. (Paris: Calmann-Levy).

Both of these studies deal with Moslem life, one in the oasis between Algeria and the Sahara, the other in the city of Marrakesh. The former book tells of the fair-skinned, blue-eyed race visited by Miss Keun in an adventurous ride. She describes their poverty, their weather-beaten huts and the home life of their villages. In her opinion conservatism is "the dominant characteristic, the very instinct of all Mussulman society, Asiatic and African, and of each individual Moslem; attachment to the past, faithfulness to the point of immovability, and unto death, to a formula given once and for all."

From the second volume we learn that the French are successfully applying their methods of administration in Morocco. Under the new regime there seems to be a better understanding between Christian and Moslem, although Islam reigns supreme within the crumbling walls of the old city.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

By MISS HOLLIS W. HERING, New York,
Missionary Research Library

I. GENERAL.

The Changing East. (*The Round Table*, London. September, 1920. p. 756-772.)

The East is stricken with the civilization disease, the inevitable effect of too close contact with the West. Her change in ideas is enormous, but just how much of it is assimilated? The Turk first got hold of the idea of nationality and proceeded to apply it drastically, but it was intellectually beyond him, and passed from him to his cleverer subjects, the Jews, Armenians, and Arabs. Now, the Near East is Moslem, but its public life has turned national. This new note dominant throughout the East, must be met; can it not best be done by imposing responsibility on the local peoples, a responsibility which in practice they will probably dislike?

Great Britain, Mesopotamia and the Arabs. W. Ormsby Gore. (*The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. August, 1920. p. 225-238.)

By the terms of the Turkish Peace Treaty, the three provinces of Mosul, Baghdad, and Basra are to constitute an independent state under guarantee of the League of Nations and subject to the mandate of Great Britain. The policy of Great Britain, therefore, must be far from treating the Arabs as a subject people; it must give them an opportunity of restoring their former independent civilization and national consciousness. According as Great Britain succeeds in fulfilling her obligations, and in helping to realize those aspirations she has encouraged will depend, in all probability, the future relations between Eastern and Western civilization.

Islam. Albert Kinross. (*The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston, November, 1920. p. 669-680.)

Impressions of the general effect of Islam on the peoples who have embraced it, gained during four years military service in Moslem lands during the Great War. The conclusion is reached that fundamentally there is not much difference between Islam and the Christian world of the Middle Ages. The trouble with Islam is that it is tied fast by the Koran and the intense individualism of the normal Mohammedan. This is an anachronism in a world where cooperation is a fetish. It is only when this fact is recognized by both the East and the West, however, that we can arrive at a reasonable *modus vivendi*.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

Turkish Ideas of God. George E. White. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. October, 1920. p. 885-890.)

The actual conception which the average Turk has of God is that of a magnified human sovereign. In his opinion, all good government

is monarchical, with supreme and final authority vested in one being, who is surrounded by varying grades of favorites and satellites. The ruler's crowning virtues are mercy, clemency, and compassion, which are to be exercised whether or not justice is required. This analogy is carried over bodily into the religious field. The Divine Will, infinite and absolute, controlling all things, so embraces each human will that there is absolutely no free scope to the latter. Thus there results Islam's strong tendency towards irresponsibility and fatalism.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

The Dance of the Howling Dervishes. Joseph Koven. (*Asia*, New York. October, 1920. p. 869-870.)

A lively description of one of these dances as performed by the Rifā'i tes at Ramleh. After the dance, the holy sheik performed miracles of healing on the cripples, the lepers, and the sick, chiefly by touching or breathing on them, the while repeating a verse from the Koran.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

En Egypte. Jehan d'Ivray. (*La Revue de Paris*, Paris. September 15, 1920. p. 339-363.)

Notes on the Nationalist movement in Egypt. The author was present during the outbreak in 1882, when the English bombarded Alexandria, and believes that since then Egypt has never been more than relatively tranquil. The patriotic propaganda of Mustapha Kemal is summarized, the fact being noted that it was addressed exclusively to Mohammedan Egypt. In the continuous state of restlessness the active part taken by the students is worth studying. In connection with this, it should be remembered that before England gained control France, through her Roman Catholic missionaries, had established flourishing schools for both boys and girls, absolutely free from any religious constraint. Although the English government has put no formal difficulties in the way of these schools, the suppression of the Egyptian Mission in France, and the requirement of a certificate from a government school for any office holder have resulted in turning many pupils from the French schools. In the last revolt, there are two significant and outstanding features: the prominent part played by Egyptian women, and the harmonious working of all religions towards a single aim. That the English have benefitted Egypt wonderfully is beyond question; that they have recognized how dangerously they have alienated native opinion is shown by the large measure of autonomy granted to the country as a result of the Milner mission.

Mesopotamia and Syria. Robert Machray. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. October, 1920. p. 609-620.)

A sequel to "The Arab Question" and "The Middle East," written by the same author and noted in previous Surveys. This article takes up the political situation in these two countries (now practically bracketed by Parliament), explaining what Great Britain has done there since accepting the Mandate, and why the Mesopotamian outbreak resulted. As for Persia, if the British are to do any good there either for the Persians or for India a bold military policy is essential.

Our Amazing Syrian Adventure. Beckles Willson. (*The National Review*, London. September, 1920. p. 41-54.)

The French feel that the English have kept bad faith with them in Syria; the Arabs, that the English have deserted and betrayed them;

while the English consider that at great expense and sacrifice they have sternly and honorably adhered to the letter of their treaty with France. This is an exposition of the English side of the question, from the time the Foreign Office hesitatingly began to back the King of Hedjaz for the sake of the political reaction on the British Moslem populations of Egypt and India.

The Palestinian Problem. Horace B. Samuel. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. September, 1920. p. 402-411.)

A fair-minded attempt to discover to what extent the Arab opposition to Zionism is really genuine and serious, and how far it is the result of political and religious propaganda. The fellaheen, forming the majority of the Arab population, are socially, economically, and politically in subjection to the sheikhs and effendis. These latter, frankly exploiting the peasants, have resented both the British administration and the modernization of the country. The Syrian Christians, better educated and higher in the cultural scale, are also smarter in commerce than the Moslem Arabs; self-interest, therefore, must have strongly influenced both these classes to oppose the immigration of Jews who would compete with them on more equal terms. The author believes, however, that these are not the only factors which have led to such decided opposition.

IV. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

The Albanians—a Forgotten Race. Mrs. Sevasti K. Dako. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. September, 1920. p. 779-785.)

Albania, the Switzerland of the Balkans, dates her history back as far as 4000 B.C., and has an unbroken tradition of national aspiration. For awhile, the Albanians were Christians belonging to the Eastern Patriarchate, and struggled valiantly to hold the Turks from Europe. They were overcome, however, and today two-thirds of them are Moslems. The life and characteristics of the people are here briefly described, and there is a short sketch of the mission work (chiefly that of the A. B. C. F. M.), which has been carried on among them since 1820.

At the Gate of Afghanistan. Jenny de Mayer. *The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. October, 1920. p. 865-874.)

There is at last a prospect that Afghanistan may be opened to missionary effort, since it is reported that the Ameer has taken the capital of Turcomania; and the Turcomans, independent and rather indifferent Mohammedans, have always been very prone to appropriate European ways. After feeling sure of a divine call to enter Afghanistan, the author set to work persistently to prepare for her opportunity. Itinerant work was carried on up to the very boundary of the country, and friendly relations established with Afghan merchants. There is a good description of her work among the pilgrims, and her border-line travel. In 1914, however, when her plans actually to enter the country as a Christian were completed, they were completely overturned by a serious illness, nor has it been possible to go on with them since.

Islam and Christianity In the Sudan. Roland Allen. (*The International Review of Missions*, London. October, 1920. p. 531-543.)

A serious challenge to answer the question of why it is, when Chris-

tianity and Islam both face the same pagan tribes that the African is attracted to Islam rather than to Christianity. This is true of the more intelligent part of the population, including natives who have received a Christian education. Dr. Bryden in 1887 and Dr. Westermann in 1912 analyzed the situation in their time and came to remarkably unanimous conclusions; are the same causes operative today, and if so, has the church projected an adequate plan of campaign against them? So far, the suggested remedies have all been on the basis of putting the white foreign missionaries always in the first place and teaching the whole native Christian community to depend upon them. Yet, while a free native church might beat back Islam, how far is it recognized that a dependent one cannot and will not even attempt it?

Pen Pictures of the Siege of Aintab. John E. Merrill. (*The Envelope Series*, Boston. October, 1920. p. 3-23.)

President Merrill, of Central Turkey College, gives a graphic description of some phases of the attempt of the Turkish nationalists to expel the French from Aintab. In this effort, the Armenians were in the way of the Turks, and so were violently attacked. Several remarkable incidents are noted, and the spirit of religion, sobriety, bravery, and conciliation constantly present among the Armenians commented upon.

Persia's Share in the World War. Robert M. Labaree. (*All the World*, New York. October, 1920. p. 40-47.)

A short sketch from the Persia Mission of the Presbyterian Church in the U. S. A. Mention is made of the war experiences of Urumia station, the Assyrian Christians and their needs, and missionary opportunities; while a statistical estimate of the cost of rehabilitation and enlargement is appended. The same issue of the periodical contains various brief notices on phases of the work in Urumia, Meshed, and Syria, by different writers.

Reminiscences of Pioneer Work at Jidda. Jenny de Mayer. (*Neglected Arabia*, New York. July-September, 1920. p 3-9.)

In July, 1913, unbacked by any Board or Society, Miss de Mayer opened medical mission work at Jidda amongst the pilgrims from Central Asia. Although she knew little Arabic, the dispensary work was successful from the start, and soon it was possible to do medical work in private houses. The chief doctor at Jidda, while doing nothing to hinder the work, opened a dispensary of his own to counterbalance the Christian influence. Active opposition came from the local pharmacist and the Meccan government. This finally forced the closing of the work.

Turki People of Chinese Turkestan. G. W. Hunter. (*The Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai. August, 1920. p. 556-558.)

A survey of these people who inhabit the stretch of country from Zungaria on the east to Hotan, Yarkand, and Kashgar on the west. They are in language, dress, and customs entirely different from the neighboring Chinese; Mohammedans of a very bigoted type, they live much as do other Mohammedans, with the exception of a few local customs. Divorces are very common, and there is great immortality. The Sarts are very difficult to evangelize, and do all in their power to keep the Gospel from others.

THE MOSLEM WORLD

A quarterly review of current events, literature, and
thought among Mohammedans and the progress
of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

Editor: SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D.

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NOTES OF CONTRIBUTORS

Rev. E. M. Wherry, D.D., who writes the Editorial in this number is known to all our readers and represents the "old guard" of pioneer missionaries among Mohammedans. He has perhaps done more than any one else in India to meet the literary need of Moslems and to arouse interest at home.

Clara C. Rice, the writer of the article on the "New Persian Woman," is the wife of the Rev. W. A. Rice, of the Church Missionary Society in Persia, well known as the author of "Crusaders of the Twentieth Century." She has had many years' experience in Persia.

Canon W. Hooper, D.D., went out to India under the Church Missionary Society in 1861. He was one of the translators of the Old Testament into Hindu. He is the author of a number of theological works including a Hebrew-Urdu Dictionary; also a work on comparative religion entitled "The Doctrine of Salvation as set forth in Christianity, Hinduism and Islam."

Rev. W. Wilson Cash is at present secretary of the Church Missionary Society Mission in Palestine, he has had experience in Egypt and has distinguished himself during the war as a Chaplain to the Forces and received decorations for bravery.

Major C. Braithwaite Wallis, B.A., LL.D., F.R.G.S., at present H.B.M. Consul General in New Orleans (U. S. A.), has served under the Foreign Office in Liberia and Sierra Leone. He is the author of a number of works on West Africa and an authority on Islamic law.

M. E. Botham is a missionary of the China Inland Mission and has had valuable experience in direct evangelistic work among Chinese and Persian Moslems.

"Thora Stowell" is the pen-name of a correspondent of *The Egyptian Gazette*, who has made special study of native life in Egypt.

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THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XI

APRIL, 1921

No. 2

EDITORIAL

HOW IS RECONCILIATION POSSIBLE?

Many of us are forced to the conviction that we are facing a new era, a new day, in our relations to Moslems. We believe that the hour has come when with sacrificial love and tactful sympathy we should advance to win them to the allegiance of Jesus Christ. The period of controversy, of apologies for the faith, of answers to bitter Moslem attacks, was that of the ploughman. The hard soil has been broken up; rocks once thought adamantine have crumbled. Old objections to the Bible as a book are no longer current. The circulation of the Scriptures has been their vindication. After centuries of seed sowing and centuries of the witnessing of the Oriental Churches through slow martyrdoms, after the missionary effort through colleges, evangelists and hospitals, we believe the hour has come to reap.

But if we are to win our Moslem brethren for Christ, by what method are we to proceed? Our call and commission is clear and unmistakable. Archbishop Leighton said, "If our religion is false we ought to change it; if it is true we ought to propagate it." This is the implication of every page of the Gospel. It is the obligation of Christian love to share the life which we have received.

The Moslem also has his convictions and his great passion. Islam has always been aggressive. We admire the Moslem for the boldness of his faith. But have we been

equally bold? God is for us. Jesus Christ has been crucified and is risen. The Spirit of Pentecost has come. All things are now ready. What wait we for? Is there any lack in God, in Christ, in the Spirit, or is the fault in us?

If we are to seek to win our Moslem friends, what plan are we to follow? Two methods stand out in clear contrast: the polemic and the irenic; the method of argument, debate, contrast and comparison on the one hand and on the other hand the method of loving approach along lines of least resistance.

Some go so far as to tell us that we are to omit from our message everything that offends the Moslem mind, to avoid all criticism of Islam and to leave out those Christian doctrines and teachings that might give offence. Moslems themselves are divided on this issue. Some publicly state that Islam and Christianity can easily be reconciled; others are conscious of the deep chasm that yawns between the two systems. Helali Bey, of Alexandria, a retired Egyptian official, who made some name as a literateur and poet, recently published a chart, setting forth the new spirit of Islam according to his views. Just as in the recent outburst of nationalism we saw everywhere the Egyptian flag with the Crescent embracing the Cross, so Helali Bey advocates complete union of Islam and Christianity. His ingenious chart shows the picture of a sheikh and a clergyman with hands clasped as twin brothers. He asserts that even the numerical value of Islam and Christianity are identical and says: "The object of religion is to bring union and concord between the different parts of a nation, to make them one whole and indivisible society; in fact, religion is behaviour." He fails to see, however, that behaviour depends on belief, that conduct is determined by creed.

Let us hear the other side. In the last number of the *Review of Religions* (Quadian, India), the leading article is on "Christianity versus Islam" and sounds a different note.

“The ideals of Christianity and those of Islam seem outwardly the same. I speak of the ideals of the two creeds as contradistinguished from the ideals of Christendom and Moslemdom. The two sets of ideals differ very much among them in spite of kinship of names. The ideal of the Christian creed is no more similar to the ideal of the present day Christendom than is the ideal of Islam to the ideal of the present Moslem world.” The author, an educated Indian Moslem, goes on to say that there is no possible agreement, for the Moslem idea of Deity is real and reasonable, “while the Christian Deity is an inscrutable paragon to the human mind, an absurdity, a deadweight, restraining mental activity.” The Christian plan of salvation, he says, is “derogatory to the perfect wisdom and power of God; no sensible man can honestly accept it The Christian plan of salvation is through faith in Jesus. Mankind have fallen from their original blessedness through the sin of their first parents. They could only be saved through the vicarious office of a redeemer. To make them fit for such a consummation God has chosen from among the nations of the earth a small tribe and made them the medium for the gradual unfolding of His scheme of salvation. While the rest of the human race remained neglected and uncared for, the chosen people were given the Law as the first instalment of Divine favour and as symbol of the great mercy which was to follow. This appeared in the advent of the sinless Redeemer, ‘the only begotten Son of God,’ who to satisfy the requirements of Divine justice, offered up his own sinless life in vicarious atonement for the sins of men. A belief in him therefore entitles the believer to the benefit of the atonement.” After this frank statement of the core of Christian teaching, he goes on: “The Islamic plan, on the other hand is rational and natural. Man is born in innocence in Islam, which is ‘the nature made by Allah in which he has made man’ (Koran). He falls through the influence of his surroundings and by outraging his own nature. He can attain salvation only by right knowl-

edge and right actions. There is no special favor. There is no 'chosen people.' God has sent teachers or prophets to all nations, who have taught their respective peoples truths regarding the purpose of human life and the way of attaining same, or in other words, truths concerning the attributes and ways of God and human conduct. *Salvation is to be achieved by individual effort.* 'No one will bear the burden of another.' There is nothing occult about the business. When by repeated good actions man realizes the goodness which is his goal, he has already achieved his salvation." This is the Moslem gospel.

So we see that in the ranks of Islam as well as among missionaries there are two views regarding the relations that are possible. Reconciliation at any price or clear reiteration of our message and investigation of the truth, cost what it may. A clash of ideas, a collision of thought, has been the inevitable result whenever and wherever Islam came into touch with Christianity. The first conversion from Islam to Christ took place even before Mohammed died (632 A. H.). One of Mohammed's own companions left Arabia and went to Abyssinia, and there the impact of a living Christianity, although superstitious, opened the eyes of that Arab, Obeid Allah bin Jahsh, so that he wrote to Mohammed, as the Arabs themselves relate, "I now see clearly and you are still blinking." It was the same bold message that the blind man in the Gospel story gave the doubting Pharisees.

There is no reconciliation except through the Atonement. This is fundamental. When we ourselves understand the mystery of the Cross, the love of God to our Moslem brethren is shed abroad in our hearts through the Holy Spirit. Without the doctrine of the Cross love degenerates into mere sentiment. Comparative religion is of less value than positive religion on the mission field.

S. M. ZWEMER.

THE LAST DECADE IN MOSLEM WORK

It began with the clear calm of a bright summer day. The nations seemed to rejoice in the quiet and prosperity of a well nigh universal peace. Travel by land and sea was open to all who had the means to indulge in this expensive luxury. True it was an armed peace. The immense armies were trained in the art of warfare. The inventors of new machines for military uses were highly rewarded. The dreadnaughts and superdreadnaughts were being built at immense expense. The great nations were loaded down with these great burdens even as the knights of old, clad in garments of steel.

Following closely upon the heels of the Edinburgh Conference, the General Conference of Missions to Moslems was held almost under the shadow of the great Imambarah in Lucknow. For six successive days, delegates from all parts of the Moslem world, representing all the great Protestant missionary societies, sat in solemn assembly to discuss the problems and policies of the great evangelistic endeavour to bring the Gospel to the two hundred million votaries of the faith of Islam. A new impulse was given to the work. The publication of the papers presented in three volumes accomplished much to awaken popular interest in the work among Moslems. The boards and the churches were led to realize more clearly their responsibility for the evangelization of the Mohammedan world.

The outcome, almost immediately observed, was the establishment of many new stations along the shores of the Mediterranean Sea in North Africa; the endeavour to stretch a chain of mission stations across Central Africa, with a view to stop the Moslemizing of non-Moslem tribes; the increase of work in Egypt and India, in China, Malaysia and the Dutch East Indies.

Among the agencies used to continue the work of the conferences, none was more conspicuous than THE MOSLEM WORLD. Under the energetic management of Dr. S. M. Zwemer and his coadjutors, it has become the organ of the missionary societies and missionary workers in every part of the world. No missionary to Moslems can afford to do without this magazine. It presents the most advanced thought on the methods of work, on the life and character of Moslems in various parts of the world, on the doctrine and practice of Islam, setting forth at once its strong points and showing the way to reach the heart of the Moslem by showing him how Christ can meet him at the place where he has the greatest need.

Another important work accomplished during this decade is the production of an extensive literature which has been created in many languages of the Christian and Moslem world. Much of this is published in the English language and ministers to the intelligence of Christian people as well as to the education of missionaries who propose to work among Moslem peoples. Some of these books have been translated into the languages used by Moslems, in the Arabic, Persian, Urdu, Malaysian and Chinese. Periodicals, too, have been established as evangelistic agencies. Some of the older books have been revised and republished in attractive form, so that Dr. Koele, Dr. Pfander and Dr. Imad-ud-din are still engaged in preaching the Gospel through the printed page. Lastly, the printing press has been exalted to a higher place than ever. The dreadful carnage of the Great War has drenched vast regions with blood, and the bones of martyrs have been scattered over vast desert places. Great cities and numerous villages have been wiped off the maps of the world. Great empires have been crushed and new states have been created. Barriers have been broken down and a new era has been established. Now as never before in the history of the Church the way is opened up for the evangelization of the world. The opportunity is great.

The Moslem convert is not yet free from the danger of death for his apostasy, but the spirit of religious liberty has manifested itself in many ways. The new "spiritual" interpretation of the Koran has opened up to many Moslems a way of escape from the literal teaching of the Koran. The evangelist will be obliged to reckon with this situation, but the new reign of reason must mean a new power in the proclamation of the claims of Jesus Christ as the Saviour of men. More than ever we have come to realize our need of the Spirit of God in our own lives. The witness to the truth must be the testimony of the regenerated lives of Christians, illustrating the message we preach.

I quote in closing a few words from the address of Bishop Lefroy given at Lucknow in 1911: "Let us ask again and again, in deepest earnestness and unwavering faith that the Holy Spirit may be given us according to our need. Then let us know that we have received Him, let us throw ourselves without a shadow of doubt or reserve upon Him. So shall we win for ourselves the glorious experience which was St. Paul's when he cried, 'I can do all things in Him that strengtheneth me.' So shall we know with a final and immovable certainty ourselves, and be able also to bring home to the hearts of others that 'this is the victory which hath overcome the world, even our faith.' "

E. M. WHERRY.

Ludhiana, India.

THE NEW PERSIAN WOMAN

Western nations are not alone in the rapid change of today; the unchangeableness and despotism of the East are yielding as never before. The greatest factor in this, is Western contact. The fruits of Christianity are welcomed all over the Orient, for non-Christian and anti-Christian faiths never work for the progress of a country, for the uplift of individuals, nor for the relief of suffering woman, except as a mother is a negligible quantity.

For centuries the position of the Eastern woman has been a crying evil; it has seldom, however, been recognized as such by her, but simply accepted as her lot. Man has legislated to his own advantage, and woman has acquiesced, no other way being open or known to her. Today contact has changed this.

Few countries are more familiar than the land of the Shah, yet how little is generally known of its present condition? The fame of its cats and carpets, its poets and philosophers, its wine and its rose gardens is widespread; but of the fame of its men and women little is heard. Persia still lives on the credit of its past glory, yet nationality is indestructible, and the germ of the power which made such a bold bid for world conquest, though it has lain dormant for the greater part of the last 2,250 years, is still vital, and with the help and guidance of the West, Persia may yet take an honourable place among the nations of the Middle East. Isolation and sleep have gone, and huge changes are bound to come.

The greatest weakness in the social and national life of Persia has been its estimate of woman. The seclusion and swaddling of her life has been a religious command and a political policy; this wastage of "a nation's greatest asset" has kept Persia in a backwater. Emancipation will not come through protest or pleading. Persia's

women must show themselves worthy of confidence, to which end they must have education of which Western women must show the value, and to the Oriental mind education and moral training are acknowledged as the fruit of Christianity.

One sign of the awakening of Persia, is that men are willing that girls as well as boys should be educated. Surely this points to an acknowledgment of the handicap put upon women which has kept the race back at its source. While there must be a changed and enlightened manhood willing that this handicap should be removed, there must be a corresponding desire on the part of the women, also the weakening or collapse of the system of which this handicap is a product. To an unexpected degree this willingness and desire coexist; how is the third obstacle to be overcome?

What is the present-day position of women in Persia? Owing to the lack of education, child marriage, polygamy, (temporal and eternal) temporary marriage, concubinage, easy divorce on the part of the husband, and a low estimate of her powers and trustworthiness, it is one of disaster. How can men become patriots and leaders whose mothers are subjected to such indignities? Mohammedan men appropriate every privilege to themselves, and do all in their power to debase and humiliate womanhood. Hence, the women are downtrodden but defiant and imperious, with little idea of self-control. The attempt to improve upon nature, and to banish woman from her rightful place in the world, has resulted in a mutilated, unbalanced social order, which militates against home life and national development. There is no word in the language for home, and on the very rare occasions when men and women are seen together in the streets, the woman always walks behind! There can be little progress in freedom, philanthropy, or morals, for there is no domestic soil in which the seeds can germinate. The Koran sanctions four contemporary wives, who may be cast adrift at any time without explanation or notice.

While the husband possesses unlimited power of divorce—absolute, immediate, unquestioned—no corresponding privilege belongs to the wife. When divorced she may claim her dowry, literally her “hire” but very often she hangs on, neglected and superseded, sometimes confined and beaten, if such be her lord’s will. Even if a man does not exercise his rights, yet the knowledge of their existence tends to debase womanhood and to weaken its influence.

The condition of the servile concubine, also sanctioned by the Koran, is even worse. She is at the entire mercy of her master, who sells her when he tires of her, and she passes from master to master a very wreck of womanhood. If children are borne by these women they are legitimate and share in the inheritance, so forming additional ground for domestic feuds, and lessening the tone and vigour of the ruling classes. Temporary marriages for a few weeks or “for ninety-nine years” are resorted to, and widows may remarry.

It is only necessary to know a few Persian women intimately to see how these principles work out, or to realize how hard their lot is. Many appear light-hearted and indifferent to their disabilities; others say “it is *Kismet*” that is, “the portion that is granted.” Some consult fortune tellers and use various talismans to win back favour, or to cause evil to enemies.

The veil is looked upon by many as a privilege. They say that until the men have cleaner minds it is a necessity for every self-respecting woman. Recently the upper class women have replaced the long white cambric veil with a short black horsehair one, which is more comfortable but scarcely more becoming.

Child marriage exists, not as sanctioned by the Koran, but as practiced by the Prophet. This example, the dearth of education and occupations for girls, and the brutal selfishness of the men, bring untold suffering and sap the country’s strength at its source. How much of girlhood’s inheritance of joy and laughter, of books and

play, of friends and of freedom is denied to the girl wife!

And what of Persian childhood with its threefold burden of superstition, fatalism, and ignorance, with its medical, educational, moral and spiritual problems? The limit of childhood is only fixed by physical laws, the immaturity of the mind is ignored. The seclusion of girls has its moral and mental effects as well as physical. The sufferings resulting from the conditions under which the little carpet weavers of Kerman work are deplorable. A heavy toll of suffering and early death awaits the children of opium smoking parents. A physician from Persia writes: "There are more childhood diseases here than in any place of which I know. It is estimated that the mortality is 85%." From their earliest years boys and girls see and hear what a child should never know. They grow up in an atmosphere where thought, word and deed are all impure—lying, false promises and threats are all allowed as right, in dealing with children. How much, too, is left out of their lives? Islam is not for the child. Their prophet could never have called the children to him. Yet how quickly they learn to know and love the Children's Friend, who still says, "Suffer the children to come unto Me."

Half of the population of Persia lives in its 40,000 villages. Here the women are of more account than in the towns; they lead busy lives, spinning and weaving wool and cotton, cleaning and grinding rice and corn, and making butter and cheese. They are simple and friendly folk and always very interested and curious when an English woman appears. They are slow to take in new ideas, and are surprised when suggestions are made about child training and home making. An attentive hearing is always given to the Gospel.

Another fourth of the population are Ilyats or wandering tribespeople, who live a free life, moving their quarters in spring and autumn. These tribes, of which there are many, are of Arab, Turkish, and Persian origin. With many of them robbing is a profession. They are

very lax Mohammedans. Islam teaches that women should not work for the upkeep of the house, but these women do much of the work of the tribe, and so earn a good position. They all ride, and some are excellent shots. They are said to be moral; in some tribes immoral women are shot. Polygamy is the custom. The chiefs of some of the more important tribes have come in contact with Europeans, and are asking for doctors and teachers for whom they are able and willing to pay.

The progressive element, as elsewhere, is in the towns, and it is among the townswomen, those who suffer most, that there is real movement. In cities which have contact with the West, such as Teheran and Isfahan, this is most evident. Men and boys come to Europe for business or education; Europeans, and among them a number of American and English women, live and work in these and other cities. The literate throughout the country number three per cent of the men, and three per cent of the women, chiefly town dwellers.

For some years educated women in Teheran have realized the backwardness of their country, and seen how much the place of its women was answerable for this condition. Considering their lack of knowledge and experience they have made real progress.

During the revolution of 1910-11 they exerted a powerful moral influence on the movement. Three hundred women came to the *Majlis* (Parliament), some of whom were admitted. They tore aside their veils and said they would kill their husbands, their sons, and themselves if the liberty and dignity of the Persian nation were not upheld. Behind the curtains in the mosques they read exhortations to their sisters to stand firm to the dream of Persian independence. The men asked for and read these documents, and it was said in the *Majlis*, "The women teach us how to love our country." They gave money and jewels, saying, "We are women and cannot fight, but we can give to our country."

After finding their voice and power in this way, dozens of women's political societies controlled by a central organization came into existence, also an inquiry bureau and a woman's newspaper called *Blossom*.

The old type of girls' schools is now considered worse than useless, many government schools for girls have been opened; the Bahais also have girls' schools. English and American missionary societies have about twenty schools, some of them most excellent, for Parsis, Jews, Armenians, and Persians. It is to these we look for the development of public opinion and strong moral character and Christian teaching, but they need to be multiplied a hundred times.

The tragedy of child marriage can best be averted by education. A boy who was at an English school in Isfahan asked his headmaster to see his father and to persuade him not to give his little daughter of seven to be married. How did that boy come to see the evil? A visitor to the American school in Teheran said, "I wish my wife had been educated," adding, "I want my daughter to take her diploma, and then give her life to educational work among the women of Persia." Two upper class girls are hoping to come to England this year to take up educational and medical training, with a view to helping their countrywomen.

Early in 1917 a branch of the Mothers' Union was commenced among Persian Christian women in Isfahan. A friendly educated woman was asked to speak at some of their meetings and asked if something of the same kind could be arranged for upper class Moslem women. There were considerable difficulties in the way, but at the first meeting about forty were present, including the Deputy Governor's wife, and other leading Persian women, also several English women. Three of the latter spoke, and suggested united work for the uplift of Persia. The position of Persian women was contrasted with that of those in the West; stress was laid on what the power and influence of women might and ought to be in their

homes, and in their country, on the importance of knowledge and education, and the need of schools, orphanages, and hospitals. Copies of a suggested syllabus were distributed. There was some free and friendly discussion, and it was decided that further meetings should be held. Three more took place that spring, both English and Persian women taking part. The importance of a woman's character, founded on Prov. 31:10-31, and the moral, physical and spiritual training of children, all proved most interesting, and gave rise to a request for open and frequent meetings, not only for their own class, but for poorer women also. If this had been possible much might have been done, but the hot weather and then a famine and no people with time to spare for fresh work, made it difficult. Apart from these reasons a break was politic, as the Mullahs were suspicious and might have given trouble, for though no religious teaching was given it was fully recognized that the principles advocated were the outcome of Christianity, also the teaching of Islam is opposed to progress, and this movement meant progress.

However, things are soon forgotten, and in the spring of 1918 it was quite easy to get the ladies together again. Education was the leading topic, both English and Persian viewpoints were given. An able paper was read by the headmistress of a Persian government school, also a poem, which was a cry for liberty, was written for and recited at one meeting.

In 1919, a stirring address was given by Dr. Emmeline Stuart on the evils of child-marriage. A Persian lady who feels acutely the sufferings of her fellow countrywomen drew up a promise form, which a number of those present signed, promising not to give their daughters in marriage until they were eighteen; some only agreed to the age being sixteen, and not to allow their sons to marry little girls, nor to attend the weddings of child brides. A small beginning, in truth, but it *must* develop. An account of the meeting was sent to one of the leading Mullahs in the city, a better man than most of his profession; he was

much impressed by it, and said that he would call together some of the younger Mullahs and discuss it with them, saying, "a doctor has spoken and we must give heed."

It was pathetic to hear some of these high-class women saying, "We have not the education and knowledge that you have, how can we work for the good of our country? We are not free to do anything; we may promise, and then our husbands will not allow us to perform." One was most anxious to start a society to be called the "Anglo-Persian Sisters' Union." Another, the lady who first suggested this venture, now edits a fortnightly newspaper called *The Tongue of the Woman*. In a letter recently received, it is said that this paper "flourishes exceedingly," and that its editor had just been giving "a very keen and enthusiastic talk" at the Mothers' Union "on more and better education for girls." How are they going to get what they need and want?

In Shiraz an effort has lately been made by the progressive party there, to open a girls' school. The Prince Governor, a clever and enlightened man, is in favour of it, but there is strong opposition from the Mullahs, who say that Islam does not allow the education of girls. This statement is a severe blow to the future of Islam in Shiraz. People are demanding education for their girls; if Islam forbids it they will seriously consider forsaking Islam. The probability is, that they will be attracted to the religion which satisfies the need they are beginning to feel. A young convert to the new cult of Bahaism recently gave among his reasons for the change, that Islam hindered all progress, and would not tolerate modern education for all classes and for both sexes, and that if it did, it would need to be changed radically. He also referred to the low position which it gives to women, whereas Bahaism advocates the equality of the sexes, and the need of using every means by which progress may be made. It prohibits polygamy and divorce, directs women to discard the veil and share as equals in the intercourse of social life. The future of Christian women in Persia is one of great possi-

bilities. From the Bible, which many read for themselves, from teaching and example, numbers are learning to follow in the footsteps of the Master. Christian homes are multiplying. Numbers of women and girls are at work in the mission hospitals, and schools, as Bible-women, nurses, ward maids, and teachers, where by lip and life, they commend our most holy faith. Some are ready to teach in the villages, others use the press. Though Islam still threatens death to those who leave her ranks, many run the risk. In practice there is far more liberty at the present time than the most sanguine would have dared to hope for, twenty years ago. If Persia is again to count as a nation she must have leaders from among her own people, both men and women. Justice must be assured to both sexes and all classes. The untouched resources of the country must be developed—she must have good roads and railways, good water supply, postal service, hospitals and orphanages, and industrial and social advance. But all these things are impossible without education, and unless that is a Christian education, the country will be better without it. Education opens many doors which are far better left closed, unless those entering them know something of the Spirit of Christ.

The Spirit of God is working wonderfully among the nations, yet it is left to us to hasten or hinder His work. Man's work is limited only by time and strength and capacity, so vast are today's God-given opportunities.

What is to be the future of Persia? This can only be answered when the development of its womanhood is foreseen. This is bound up with the educational facilities opened to them and depends upon the religious foundation of the education. What is it to be? Islam does not believe in education, and so is out of the running. Is it to be Bahaism or Christianity? Much depends on the response of the women of the West. What shall it be?

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CLARA C. RICE.

MOSLEM RETROGRESSION

There is one argument, which has always seemed to me one of the most potent for refuting the claims of Islam, but which has, as far as I have noticed, received comparatively little attention from writers whose object is to refute those claims, and thus to help to draw those who hold them to Christ, the sum of all true divine revelation. It is what I venture to call the retrogression of Islam behind the point reached by those which Moslems themselves acknowledge to be previous divine revelations.

Any one who in order, and carefully, reads the Bible—summarized by Moslems as the Law, the Psalms, and the Gospel—cannot fail to perceive that it contains a progressive series of revelations from God. In other words, it has pleased God not to reveal His will, and the knowledge of Himself, to mankind all at once, but gradually, in successive stages (“by divers portions as well as in divers manners,” Heb. 1:1). Now suppose a person, accustomed to the thought of this progress in the Bible, were told that the Koran also is the Word of God, he would naturally conclude that the same progress will be found in it; i. e., that as the New Testament exhibits an advance in many respects beyond the Old, so the Koran must show a progress beyond the New Testament. And if the supposed student were further told that the revelation of God in the Koran is so perfect, that not only is it superior to all previous revelations, but no revelation more perfect than it can be imagined, because it is the last Word of God to man, then he would much more certainly infer that not only the progress noticeable in the earlier books will be maintained in this latest one, but it will also be much more evident and complete in the Koran than it is in the other books. On opening the Koran, however, with this expectation, what will he find? Not only that the

progress visible in the earlier revelations is not maintained in the book which Moslems consider the seal of them all, i. e., it displays no advance beyond the New Testament; but also that in many important respects it falls behind even the earliest of those former revelations. In one word, he will perceive not progress, but retrogression. Let us now illustrate this in more detail.

I. It might appear on the surface that there is not much progress in God's revelations concerning His own nature and attributes; for from the beginning He revealed Himself as One Almighty Supreme Being, Creator and Ruler of the whole world, and Himself separate from His creation. Yet, as we study the Bible more deeply, we find a clear progression in the revelation of God's attributes. To Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob He specially revealed Himself as "God Almighty" (Ex. 6: 3), and laid less stress on His other attributes. Then, in the Law of Moses He specially brought forward His righteousness; and at great length unfolded the rewards of obedience, and the punishments of disobedience, to His Commandments; and along with this He revealed Himself as a forgiving God, but did not yet show any sufficient way by which this was compatible with His righteousness. Furthermore, in the Law of Moses He began to proclaim His own holiness, and to require corresponding holiness in men. These points were gradually made more clear through succeeding Prophets. They made it increasingly plain that God's omnipotence was not that of a tyrant, but always subject to His righteousness (e. g., Ps. 99: 4, "The King's strength also loveth judgment; it is Thou that hast established equity; it is Thou that hast executed judgment and righteousness in Jacob"). And the same prophets showed the radical distinction between the true God and the deities of other nations to be, not in the fact that He was mightier than they, but that they were impure, and He was altogether holy. And whereas in the Law of Moses the forgiveness of sins is dependent on various kinds of sacrifices, and there is no forgiveness pos-

sible for determined sins, the Prophets proclaimed a divine pardon which was perfect, permanent, and universal. Yet notwithstanding, neither Law nor the Prophets contain more than a very slight reference to the highest attribute of God, viz: His Fatherhood; and in the few places in which it is mentioned, it is limited to His relation to the Israelites. But when Christ came, He laid chief stress on this divine attribute. Not that any less stress is laid in the Gospel on the Unity, Omnipotence, Justice, and Holiness of God, than in the previous revelations, but over and above these, far more is said in the New Testament of God's fatherly love than in the previous books. And whereas those whose consciences have been awakened to feel the heinousness and awfulness of sin cannot be satisfied with the Prophets' declaration of a mere divine forgiveness without any mention of a sacrifice, in the Gospel the teachings of Moses and of the Prophets on this subject are combined: i. e., on the one hand the forgiveness of sins is shown to be full, gratuitous, and a gift of God's free grace; and on the other it is shown to depend on that sacrifice, in comparison with which all other sacrifices, that have ever anywhere been offered, are utterly inadequate. This is the chief reason why God is, in that book which is the last in point of time of all books of the New Testament, called not only Loving but Love itself.

Now let us look at the Koran. In it appears as much knowledge of the nature and attributes of God, as was given in the time of Abraham. But the Power of God is in it so exaggerated, that it prevails over, and as it were swallows up, not only His Love, but even His Justice. Else how could the Koran teach that a man's believing or remaining an unbeliever, his being saved or being doomed to hell, depends on the divine decree? And how comes it that every Mohammedan not only strenuously denies that God can be a Father, but classes a statement of His Fatherhood as blasphemy? True, what makes them abhor the idea of God's Fatherhood is that they take it in a

carnal sense, in which indeed it is blasphemy; but is not the fact, that from the Law to the Gospel the truth that God is in a spiritual sense the Father of man is more and more clearly revealed, and that in the Koran His Fatherhood is absolutely denied, a proof of retrogression in the latter? It is true that the Koran teaches that God loves His faithful servants; but the Gospel teaches, first, that God loves all men; secondly, that He has proved His love by a gift, no parallel to which can be imagined, viz: that He, incarnate, sacrificed Himself for the sins of men; and thirdly, that for this reason He "is Love." Seeing that not one of these things is to be found in the Koran, is not its retrogression manifest?

II. Again, in the mutual relation of the sexes the Koran exhibits no advance. By making Eve out of Adam's rib, God proclaimed for all time that bigamy and polygamy are contrary to His mind. And the first bigamist came of the race of Cain the accursed. As opposed to his example, each of Noah's three sons had only one wife. It is true that in the Law and the Prophets God nowhere forbade polygamy; yet it is also true that He showed the evil effects of it by the example of many persons. And through the last of the Old Testament Prophets (Mal. 2: 14-16), and again through Christ Himself, God clearly intimated, by the example of Adam and Eve, that His will was monogamy.

Again, at the beginning the marriage of brother and sister cannot have been unlawful, for no other was possible. Yet God gradually showed it to be unlawful. Abraham is nowhere blamed for having married his half-sister. But in the Law of Moses marriage with sisters, whether half-sisters or whole sisters, is strictly forbidden; and all who perpetrate such an enormity are to be put to death. And this has been plainly God's will ever since.

Again, "on account of the hardness of the heart" of the Israelites Moses gave permission for divorce, though conditioned by several restrictions; but Christ, and after Him the Apostle Paul, absolutely prohibited divorce, ex-

cept (and this exception is not universally held to come from Christ's words) when adultery had already broken the marriage bond. Thus marriage was again sanctified and honoured as it had not been since the creation of man and woman.

Now, comparing what the Koran says on this subject with what we have just seen, what retrogression we find! For one thing, it permits every Moslem not only to have as many as four wives at once, but in addition to keep as concubines as many slaves as he captures in battle, or as the result of victory. True, the Koran is as strong as the Law against the marriage of brother and sister; but the permission of divorce for any but one cause, which Christ had annulled, is again established in the Koran; and so the perfect purity of matrimony is again assailed. Is not this retrogression?

III. As to slavery. This was recognized in the Law of Moses; yet slave traffic was so strongly condemned therein, that any one stealing and selling a human being was according to it to be put to death. Further, no Israelite could remain in bondage to another Israelite for more than six years without his own consent; and when, hundreds of years afterwards, the Jews broke this law (see Jer. 34: 8-22), God was extremely displeased with them. It is true that even in the New Testament slavery is nowhere prohibited; and it could not have been so, in the then state of society, without causing confusion and revolution, which Christianity never countenances. But the teaching of the Gospel, that all men are naturally, and in God's sight, equal, gradually sank deeper, and deeper, into the mind of the Church of Christ so that at length not only was slavery abolished among Christians, but their efforts to put it down among others have been very largely successful. That it is openly established today only in what may be called the holes and corners of the earth is due to Christianity, and to that alone.

Here, again, we find in Islam no progress, but retrogression. It is true that the Koran teaches the equality of

all believers, i. e., all Moslems, and indeed lays stress on this truth; but as it has no room either for the revelation that God created man in His own image, or for the doctrine that Christ offered Himself for the salvation of all men, it is no wonder that it nowhere teaches the equality of all men, nor anywhere prohibits slavery, or makes any effort for its abolition. And so we find it today; no believer in the Koran considers slavery unlawful, or even improper.

IV. In God's revelation of the sanctity of human life we find a manifest progress in the Bible. True, God revealed it to Noah (Gen. 9: 5, 6), and insisted on the absolute difference between human and animal life in this respect; so that at the very time when He allowed man to eat the flesh of animals He enacted that death should be the penalty of murder. And the Law of Moses is equally clear on the sinfulness of shedding the blood of an innocent person (Num. 35: 33, 34; Deut. 21: 8, 9). Yet God's instructions, and His own actions, in many cases in Old Testament times show a disregard of human life which to us seems appalling. We do not refer here to the slaughter of the Canaanites and the Amalekites, because special reasons are given for this, nor to Elijah's slaughter of the prophets of Baal, for which we can well suppose a sufficient reason; but—to mention only a few instances—to the striking dead of Uzza for an act of unintentional irreverence, to the slaughter among the Bethshemites for irreverence due only to curiosity, to Elijah's calling down fire from heaven to consume the innocent messengers of a wicked king, and to Elijah's curse which had fatal effects on the boys of Bethel.

The contrast which the New Testament offers to all this is unmistakable. Though the words in Luke 9: 55, which plainly express this contrast, are probably not genuine, yet the undoubted fact that Christ "turned and rebuked" those who proposed to imitate Elijah's action by the destruction of the inhospitable Samaritans, and simply turned aside "to another village," is sufficient to show this

contrast. So is His stern rebuke to Peter for using his sword in defence even of Himself, with the statement that "they who take the sword shall perish by the sword." Needless to say, the teaching of the Apostles is in entire conformity with this, St. Paul's "the weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh" being a sufficient illustration.

But the teaching of the Koran goes back entirely, as we all know, from the point thus reached to that of the Old Testament. It shows the Arabian prophet depending more and more on an arm of flesh, and on the slaughter of those who opposed his claims. Nay more, whereas the Israelites were never commanded to propagate their religion by the sword, Islam in those first ages of its history was almost entirely extended by this means. It is, of course, only too true that Christians have often done the same, but they have done it in plain contradiction to the teaching of the Gospel, whereas Moslems have simply followed their own sacred book in doing so. Is there not manifest retrogression here?

v. With regard to the life after death we freely acknowledge a great advance in the teaching of the Koran beyond that in the Law and the Prophets. It is true that, from the first, believers in God had no doubt but that He would not forsake them when they left this body, but would, somewhere and somehow, keep them safe with Himself; but beyond this, they do not seem at first to have had any knowledge of what would be their condition after death. (And, this being the case, the fact that the Law of Moses contains no sanctions of its innumerable commandments drawn from the future world, in striking contrast with the Laws of Manu, is a clear proof that the Law proceeded from God, and not from Moses' own mind.) This ignorance, specially applied to the Resurrection. True, here and there in the Psalms and the writings of the Prophets we do find passages showing that the writers had some glimmering hope of a resurrection from the dead, like occasional rays of the sun bursting through the clouds on a dull day; yet such passages are but few and far be-

tween. Daniel seems to have been the first to whom it was revealed that both the righteous and the wicked would rise again (Dan. 12: 2); but even he speaks not of the resurrection of all men, but only of "many." After him, we know not how, but somehow or other, God taught the Jews the doctrine of the Resurrection; and some of them so firmly grasped it, that they gladly became martyrs in the hope of it (Heb. 11: 35). Nevertheless, this doctrine was not received by all the Jews; indeed one sect of them expressly denied it and, what is even more important to notice, the Jews' faith in the Resurrection rested only on what they conceived to be God's word about it, not on any solid fact. Moreover, the resurrection which faithful Jews hoped for was a very imperfect resurrection; i. e., they believed that the resurrection body would be like the body before death, and the life to be lived in the resurrection body would be like the life lived in the present body. But this crude idea was entirely dispelled, in the case of Christians, by the Resurrection of Christ: For one thing, when Christians were convinced, by irrefragable testimony, that Christ had in very deed risen from the dead, then this fact became to them the sure proof of the doctrine in question. From that time, if any one asked a Christian whence he had obtained his sure hope of a resurrection, he would reply, "Christ is risen, therefore we believe that we, too, shall rise." Can the Head rise, and the members remain under the power of death? And secondly, as Christ by His Resurrection obtained a different kind of body from what He had before His death—i. e., from mortal it became immortal, from being subject to the laws of the material universe it became independent of them, from weak it became powerful, and from being subject to all kinds of pain and infirmity it became a perfect body—even so Christians obtained a firm belief that they, too, would at the Resurrection gain similar bodies. And this firm belief they still have.

Now let us look at the Koran, and see what it says about

all this. First, we see that the doubt and ignorance, which the Old Testament writers display on the subject of the life after death has been exchanged for firm assurance. Here, then, we find decided progress. Secondly, we find all the doubts and denials of a resurrection, which largely existed at the era of the beginning of Christianity, even among those who followed the Law of Moses, are entirely gone; so that, according to the Koran, no one who does not believe the Resurrection can be a Moslem. Here, again, we mark a welcome progress. Yet, while progress is clear in the Koran as compared with the Jewish belief, in comparison with Christian doctrine its teaching shows at least equal retrogression. For one thing, in it the doctrine of the Resurrection is based on no event, but only on the book, which Moslems have to believe to be God's word. The Koran does not even illustrate this doctrine by the example of any prophet, whom it might have averred to have risen from the dead. Indeed, alas! alas! of the one Prophet who actually has risen from the dead, the Koran even denies the death; and all Moslems hold this opinion to the present day. The resurrection of which the Koran gives the hope is only of the same kind as most of the Jews had before believed. That is, it gives a hope only of such bodies as we now have, bodies which require eating, drinking, sleeping, and the exercise of other bodily functions. In these two ways, then, in respect of the doctrine of Resurrection Islam has retrograded behind Christianity.

VI. There is a special article of faith, part indeed of the "Doctrine of the Last Things," but which seems to require special treatment. Throughout the Old Testament, but specially in the Psalms and the Prophets, we find scattered prophecies to the effect that in the last days God would, either by Himself coming into the world, or by sending a certain great Man, do away with the confusion which prevails among men, and in its stead establish a reign of perfect righteousness and peace. And Christians believe that these prophecies have already to some

extent been fulfilled through the Birth, Life, Death, and Resurrection of Christ; but only to some extent. For the state of the world has not yet so improved, as the Prophets foretold that it would. And although true Christians have perfect peace in their own hearts, yet they are as subject to manifold bodily troubles, and external dangers, as others are. For this reason, Christians, relying on Christ's own promises, and the word of angels, and the writing of Apostles, have always expected a second coming of Christ. True, the Koran also foretells a return of Christ to preach Islam, and to bring all men into subjection to it; but it contains no mention at all of that "blessed hope," in reliance on which all true Christians have, generation after generation, overcome all manner of sufferings, dangers, temptations and persecutions and even death itself. They entertain a certain hope that He who at His first coming was rejected, oppressed, despised, and crucified, will come again in divine glory and majesty, and give peace to the whole world. Not that He will take vengeance on those who formerly ill-treated Him, for He desires the everlasting welfare of all men; but He will destroy those who till then will have persisted in despising His Love, and will give eternal rest with Himself, i. e., in His own holy company, to His faithful servants. For then the devil will be cast forever into hell, and in the hearts of true believers there will be no desire for, or tendency to, evil. Well may we ask Moslems the question, where in the Koran is such a blessed hope to be found?

As we study the Scriptures, as far as the New Testament, consecutively, we find that gradually, more and more, spiritual things take the place of material, inward concerns supersede the outward, divine grace and love appear instead of the claims of law; but when, passing on from the New Testament, we look into the Book which claims to be the "seal" of all former Scriptures in such sense that having it we have no more need of them, what do we see? That carnality has again taken the place of

spirituality, again stress is laid on the external rather than the internal; love is dethroned, and law again enthroned in its place; and instead of a full and sufficient atonement for sins, salvation by good works, which is by its own nature impossible, is again proclaimed. Hence the claim, with which we started, is irrefragable; viz: that instead of the progress, which students of the former Scriptures naturally expect to find in the Koran, only retrogression is found in it. Therefore let us courteously beg every Mohammedan, who seems to have an open mind, without prejudice, but with earnest prayer, to read consecutively the books which he considers to be inspired, from the Pentateuch to the Koran, and accept the conclusion which will then irresistibly form itself in his mind.

Mussoorie, India.

W. HOOPER.

THE MISSIONARY OUTLOOK AND THE MOSLEM PROBLEM

The missionary outlook upon the Moslem world today is governed largely by the effects of the war. Every problem of evangelization is altered to some extent by the new conditions that now obtain. Moslems the world over have been shaken by the war. The head of the religion, the Sultan of Turkey, has been beaten in battle after battle, his armies have been smashed, and foreign powers now occupy the capital of the Moslem world, Constantinople. This has brought about such an upheaval that every student of Islam must view the field from the two standpoints of pre-war and post-war.

Lord Cromer in his "Modern Egypt" says "Islam reformed is Islam no longer." This represents very much the pre-war outlook. We have always been accustomed to look upon the Moslems as strictly conservative, unalterable, unchanging, and hide-bound by their Koranic laws and traditions. The Moslem is very much a man of fixed creed, outlook and habits. The impression one gets after long intercourse with him is that he is a man who is supremely indifferent to the turmoil of European politics. He views every non-Islamic religion, and particularly Christianity, from a pinnacle of superiority. He will, if called upon, discuss our faith with the detached, tolerant and even patronizing air of a superior being, who looks upon all other religions as infinitely below him, inferior to Islam and scarcely worth discussion or investigation. This applies in particular to the sheikh class, and in a much less degree to the effendi, who is more in touch with modern thought and movements. This attitude of superiority is largely due to the history and traditions of Islam. Mohammedanism sprang into being with meteor-

like rapidity. The personality of the prophet gripped the imagination of Arabia, and the religion spread throughout Persia, Syria, Egypt, and North Africa with amazing speed. Governments and empires toppled down before the sword of Mohammed, and the army of Islam was looked upon as invincible. The proof required by the Arabs for the claims of Mohammed was mainly success, and victory in battle was interpreted as evidence of divine favour. Defeat to a Moslem army was interpreted very much as Joshua viewed the reverse of the Israelites at Ai. It meant to Mohammedans that God was not fighting for them. Thus in the early days of the expansion of Islam victory in battle was a *sine qua non* to faith in Islam. A theocratic form of government was set up and out of it sprang the claims of Mohammed to temporal power. Behind all the faith, prayers, alms and pilgrimages of a devout Moslem there glittered the sword, and there followed with every new growth of Mohammedanism bloodshed, ruin, rape, and plunder. Nations conquered were crushed under the heel of an intolerant master, who saw nothing good in the world outside Islam. Let us not forget that this claim of temporal power is not simply an historic fact but it dominates today the outlook upon the world of the most spiritual Moslems. The triumph of their faith means still world conquest. Since these early days Islam has declined politically and all through the last century one after another of the Balkan States regained their independence. Islam in Europe became a negligible quantity. In the East the Turkish Empire has remained very much intact, and up to the beginning of the war Asia Minor, Syria, Palestine, parts of Arabia, and Mesopotamia were kept in subjection by all the despotism of the Turk.

This decline of Islam has been viewed with much heart searching by all devout Moslems. I have frequently heard them speak of the present times as "the latter days" when there would be a falling away from the faith, and they ever looked forward in faith to the coming of the

Mahdi, who would restore again the kingdom to Islam. This heart searching has led among the simpler folk to a great increase in the dervish orders, and it has made the better educated take a wider outlook upon their faith in relation to modern thought and civilization. They could no longer be blind to European influences, nor could they shut their eyes to the difference in social conditions between Christian and Moslem countries. Democracy became a new and fascinating study to the effendi class, who sought to adapt their religion to modern requirements. They still looked back to the old days of theocratic rule very much as the ideal, but they became profoundly dissatisfied with their present conditions.

The revolution in Turkey when Abd-el-Hamid, the Sultan was deposed, was an expression of this dissatisfaction. The Young Turkish Party gained the upper hand, and the people in Jerusalem and other large Moslem cities paraded the streets in large processions. Christians, Moslems and Jews were seen arm in arm walking through the streets with banners and flags, and they were all shouting for liberty, fraternity, and equality. While it is perfectly true that the whole movement was captured by an unscrupulous gang of young Turks whose whole aim was selfish, and who interpreted patriotism in terms of greed and gain, yet there were forces underlying the movement that were unselfish and patriotic. There was in many thousand Moslem hearts the cry for something better. They were blindly groping after something, ill-defined if you will, and possibly doomed to failure from the start, but these forces had taken root, and they will be the great factors in the Moslem world of the future.

The Turkish revolution was the direct outcome of the contact of the Moslem world with modern Western civilization. The movement failed not because of the conservatism of Islam but through lack of moral character in its leaders. The people thought that what the West had done they could imitate, and they forgot that behind Western democracy lies the sterling character, born of

Christian teaching and based on Christian ethics, and that good government involves good men to govern. Islam failed in government simply because it fails to develop character free from bribery, corruption and other vices.

When Germany plunged the world into war Enver Pasha and the young Turks joined in the fray with one aim and hope. They wished to reestablish Islam as a power in the world and to regain their lost fortunes. Many a young Moslem soldier must have fought with the old ideal of the early days of Islam kept brightly before him.

After five years of war the Moslem armies again find themselves broken. Most of the Turkish Eastern Empire is passing out of the control of Moslems, and the war has dealt a shattering blow to Islam. The signing of the armistice will probably prove to be the beginning of new things in the Moslem world. Forces that had been latent throughout the war now found expression, and what the people of Syria and other countries had been seeking for years was expounded by President Wilson in his policy of self-determination. As Moslems this was exactly what they wanted, although they had ever denied it to Christian races in the Turkish Empire. This has led to some curious results. Prince Feisal has been crowned king of Syria. The Palestine Christians and Moslems are united against the Jews, and in Egypt there has been a widespread revolution for complete independence. The rioting in Egypt was followed by big demonstrations in all the towns of the land. Moslems and Copts united in one big national movement for the independence of Egypt. A great effort was made to keep it non-religious and purely political, but religion was brought into practically every speech made. The result was a compromise between Moslems and Copts. Political meetings were held in mosques and churches. Moslem leaders spoke in the churches and Copts addressed meetings in the mosques. In one meeting I attended in a Coptic church in a large town in the Delta the Coptic priest and the Moslem

sheikh sat side by side facing the congregation. A young Nationalist addressed the meeting and said, "Mohammed and Jesus are one. Their religions are one. We unite with brotherhood as our watchword, one race and one nation, to demand our complete independence." Red flags were waved on which were seen for the first time in the history of Islam, I think, the star and crescent and the cross on the same flag! These union flags with the Christian cross and the Moslem crescent were used all over Egypt, and were flown from thousands of houses and shops.

If there is any sincerity in Islam, and if the expressions of friendship with other religions mean anything, then a new liberty of conscience ought to be one of the first fruits of the war. Missionary work in the future will be affected largely by the way liberty and freedom for all religions are guaranteed by the mandatory powers. Under Turkish rule the penalty for conversion from Islam to Christianity was death. If the new movement for political freedom means anything it ought to lead to a breaking down of much of the old prejudice and bigotry against Christianity. The whole Moslem outlook on the world is broadened and there is a widespread call for better education. Much of the old conservatism is fading away, and in the Moslems, new study of Western ideas Christianity will not be left out. Missionary work of the past fifty years, although it has not shown any great number of conversions, has had a marked influence on Syria, Egypt, and other places. The great educational work of the American Mission is much valued by Moslems. Wherever one went throughout Palestine and Syria during the war one saw the influence of the College at Beirut. It has not simply taught English well, nor the sciences well, but it has given a new character to the Syrian. They have been educated in an atmosphere of Christian ethics, and their characters have been developed, until today they are probably the most reliable men in the country. In Egypt this educational work of the

American Presbyterians has meant more for missionary work in general than anything else. Teachers in boys' and girls' mission schools, catechists and evangelists are scattered all over Egypt from the colleges of Cairo and Assiout. It is no exaggeration to say that our own C. M. S. work would in many ways have been crippled had it not been for the help given us by men trained in the American schools and colleges.

The medical work of the Church Missionary Society in Egypt and Palestine has been one of the biggest evangelistic agencies in Moslem lands. In Old Cairo C. M. S. Hospital alone there were last year over 12,000 inpatients, and over 29,000 patients passed through the hospital. Most of these were fellaheen from nearly a thousand towns and villages of Egypt. Moslems came from Assouan and Alexandria to be treated in our hospital. They could have gone to any one of the numerous government hospitals nearer their homes, and there they would have been attended free, but they chose to come long distances to a mission hospital, where small charges are made for those who can afford to pay, and where the Gospel is preached daily to all who come. During the rioting in Egypt last year missionaries and mission property were respected, and as far as I know not a single mission station was attacked, although government buildings were wrecked all over the country.

Since the days of Mohammed many changes have taken place. The religion that began on a theocratic basis developed through temporal power into a world force. It declined politically, but continued a strong, conservative and united faith. The cold creed and code of Mohammed could never fully meet the needs of Eastern people, and mysticism became an important factor in Islam. Later on Western civilization influenced it and democratic movements were the result. The conservative old sheikh, the young effendi, and the spiritual mystic are all shaken now by the war, and every force in Islam is finding expression in the new movements that are on foot. The

unchanging Moslem is certainly changing, and there seems to be a great quest in Islam for something undefined; there is unrest, political troubles, but underneath them all there is still this quest. We believe that it will never be satisfied until the Moslem comes to the full light and liberty of the Gospel of Jesus Christ. As Christian missionaries we need to study new methods of work, and we must uphold in a new way the deity of our Lord and Master.

We feel that the outlook has never been so bright for missionary work. The hour has come for the Church of God to roll away the reproach laid upon us by our defeats of the past, and to do the impossible—to win the Moslem world for Jesus Christ.

W. WILSON CASH.

Jerusalem, Palestine.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON AFRICAN NATIVE LAW

1. FANTI LAW. The Gold Coast, like other countries in that part of Africa, is not escaping the influence of Islam, and a considerable proportion of the Fanti tribe are embracing that religion.

Generations ago these people are said to have occupied a plateau near the Kong Mountains in Central Africa; but, resisting the Mohammedan invasion of those parts, they were conquered and driven away. They founded a state called *Takieman*, but the tribe broke up later and a portion of them migrated towards the coast.

The Fanti have hitherto been singularly free from external influence, and it is only of recent years that a number of them have adopted the religion of the Prophet. How far Mohammedanism is affecting their customs and secret societies is not known; but there is no doubt that it is having an influence upon their laws.

There is a colony of this tribe, who claims to be British subjects on the Ivory Coast; and when I visited that country in January, 1913, a deputation came to see me at Grand Bassam, presented me with a handsome gold ring of native workmanship and asked me to advise them as to certain legal disputes and other matters which were giving them a good deal of trouble when discussed "in palaver." Among the more important of these was a case in which a Mohammedan claimed to set aside his marriage with a Pagan Fanti woman on the following grounds:—

1. That his wife had not professed her belief in his faith until four months had elapsed after their marriage.

2. That although she now claimed to be converted to Islam, she was, in fact, still a Pagan. The plaintiff also claimed the return of the *consawment* or bride-price, as well as all the property he had given her both before and during marriage.

Now if this matter was to be tried according to Fanti Law, the plaintiff had no case, because after marriage a

change of religion, or adherence to a person's religious belief, is no ground for divorce. Neither can the husband claim the return of the *consawment* or other money or property given by him to his wife or family, except he obtain a divorce for adultery, witchcraft, drunkenness, or sterility.

On the other hand, the Maliki School of Mohammedan Law lays down that if a Mohammedan marries a Pagan woman and she immediately embraces his faith, the marriage is legal; but if her conversion is delayed, it is no marriage.

If only one of the contracting parties embraces Islam the marriage is annulled even without repudiation. Inquiries into this case showed that the plaintiff desired to get rid of his wife as he was tired of her, probably on account of incompatibility of disposition. It was pointed out to him by another Moslem that her supposed conversion to Islam had been delayed, and that notwithstanding her professed adherence to his faith she remained a Pagan.

The marriage had been contracted in accordance with Fanti Law, and the woman's family refused to recognize the right of any court to set aside the marriage. They also refused to return the money, fees, or *consawment* given by the husband.

In Fanti Law if a man gives *consawment* to the family of his future wife, or money or other property to her, he cannot recover them if he repudiates the engagement or the marriage. If, however, repudiation of the engagement is made by the girl or her family, they must return the *consawment* together with all other money or property given by the suitor. It was shown that the plaintiff did apply to the family and formally asked for the hand of their daughter in marriage, which was given; that he paid bride-price for the girl and gave her presents. The fact that he paid *consawment* or bride-price and obtained the consent of both the parents and the girl constituted a legal marriage in Fanti Law.

After interminable discussions and wrangling, the Deputation decided to bring the case to palaver; and amongst the members constituting the court was more than one Mohammedan. The matter was decided partly on Fanti and partly on Mohammedan Law. The court would not allow the woman to give evidence about her marriage, on the ground that the testimony of women is not admissible except in questions relating to property (*Maliki*). Neither was the evidence of her father allowed upon the subject of the *consawment*, because such evidence was inadmissible from a witness where his own loss and profit is concerned (*Maliki*).

The plaintiff produced witness to swear that the woman had been seen practicing "Pagan rites."

After considerable delay the court found that there had been no marriage according to Mohammedan Law; that the defendant was still a heathen; that the *consawment* would be retained by the parents of the defendant; and that the defendant could not retain any jewelery, money and other property given to her by the plaintiff while she was living with him, as she was his mistress and not his wife. (*Fanti*.)

The Fanti marriage laws are on the whole simple and are not unlike those of other tribes; but Islam is making its impress upon them. No woman is allowed to possess more than one husband, but no limit is placed upon the number of wives a man is permitted to marry provided he is able to support them and provide them with shelter and protection. A wife cannot divorce her husband except for impotency. On the other hand, a man can divorce his wife for adultery, witchcraft, drunkenness, and sterility. If a woman changes her religion it is no ground for divorce. She may adopt the religion of her husband but is not obliged to do so, unless his religion demands this. If, however, she consents to embrace his faith before or upon her marriage, she is expected to do so. A husband is permitted to absent himself from his wife for as long as he wishes to do so, but is bound to sup-

port her during his absence. If she commits adultery while he is away, he can divorce her, no matter how long his absence lasts.

A man wishing to marry, must first obtain the consent of the girl's parents; if they withhold their consent, there can be no betrothal or marriage. If the family accept bride-price, called *consawment*, from the suitor the girl becomes engaged to him. If after such engagement the suitor fails to marry the girl, or the family withdraw their consent, or the girl refuses to marry him, no action would lie against any or all of them and no damages can be claimed by the suitor; but the family would have to refund the *consawment*. When a man pays *consawment* to the girl's family, and gives her presents, he cannot claim the return of them if he himself breaks the engagement. But where the girl or her parents break off the engagement, they must return all the presents together with the *consawment* to the suitor.

It is not illegal for persons belonging to the same clan of the Fanti to marry, but such unions are not encouraged. A person born in freedom is permitted to marry a slave; and if there is issue by such marriage, the children are slaves. They can be made free by the father, if he himself is a free man. A man is forbidden to marry his mother's sister's daughter; or brother's daughter; or mother's sister; or father's sister; or his uterine sister. A marriage is legal without the payment of a dowry, provided that the *consawment* has been paid. A man must pay damages to the family of an unmarried girl if he has seduced her. He must also pay damages to the husband of a married woman if he seduces her. The damages in the latter case must not be less than the value of the *consawment* and the marriage expenses. Where an unmarried daughter is seduced, her parents can claim damages to the extent of the *consawment* the seducer would have paid had he married her. The value of this would be assessed upon the wealth and standing of the seducer. Where a divorced woman marries her seducer, the latter

cannot subsequently claim from her family any damages he has previously paid them for the seduction, even if his wife refuses to live with him afterwards. If a man marries the woman he has seduced, and has not paid *consawment* to her family, he cannot recover damages from any person who may subsequently take her away from him.

Where persons wishing to contract marriage are unable to obtain the consent of the woman's parents owing to their absence; or because such consent is improperly withheld, such a marriage could legally take place provided it is performed in the presence of a witness. Mohammedan influence now makes two irreproachable witnesses necessary. (*Maliki.*) In Fanti Law, marriage is based upon the voluntary consent of a man and a woman to live together. When a man wishes to marry a virgin, he must obtain her consent and that of her family if they are present; and he must pay the *consawment* or bride-price. This is all that was necessary to make the marriage legal under Fanti Law. Now, under Moslem influence, a father can give his daughter in marriage without her consent if she is a virgin. No person, except the father of the girl, can give her in marriage until she gives her consent and attains puberty. And a woman is not now permitted to marry without the consent of a recognized and responsible member of her family or of her guardian. (*Maliki.*)

A man can ask for the hand of a girl soon after she is born; but he cannot claim her as his wife until she reaches the age of puberty. There is no limit to the number of wives a man is permitted to marry; but he must be able to feed, clothe and house them.

Under Moslem influence, a man is now expected to maintain his wife's parents if they are poor, and his children if they are without means, such obligation to cease in the case of males when they reach puberty, if they are not then disabled. He must maintain his female children until their marriage. The wives are bound to obey his

orders, cook his food and minister to his wants. When a man possessing a number of wives wishes to marry another, he is expected to inform his first wife beforehand. His first or "big wife" takes precedence of all the others and is considered to be the most important person in his household. Any woman living in concubinage with a man has no legal claim over him, and she can take no action for maintenance against him. The law called *Sarweh* enacts that any money or other property given or lent to a woman in concubinage cannot afterwards be reclaimed by the man with whom she has been living. This law was probably made for the purpose of restraining wealthy natives from keeping a number of women as concubines, which invariably leads to disputes, confusion and quarrels. When a man desires to marry one of his concubines, he must pay damages to her family for having lived with her, before giving the *consawment*. He would have no claim upon any goods or money given by him to her or to her family before marriage but such gifts are as a rule taken into consideration when the question of the payment of damages arises. When children are born to parents out of wedlock, and the parents subsequently contract a legal marriage, such children are deemed to be legitimate. Where a man commits adultery with the wife of another, and has issue by her, such children are illegitimate. If such a woman is divorced by her husband and marries her paramour, any children born previous to the marriage are illegitimate. There appears to be no law among the Fanti which compels a man to support his mistress or look after her in illness, even if she bears him children; but public opinion usually compels him to do so. The mistress of any man can terminate her relations with him whenever she so desires, and she may retain any money, goods or other property he has given her while she was his mistress. If a man gives sustenance and shelter to the wife of another without the husband's consent, the latter can sue the former for the recovery of his wife, and he can also claim damages against him and his family.

When a woman refuses to live with her husband, and she can show to the satisfaction of the court that the fault is his, she can retain all the money, goods and other property that were in her possession at the time of her marriage. She can also recover all the money she and her family have expended upon him. The husband cannot claim the *consawment* or any other expenses incurred by him at the time of or during the marriage. If however, such separation is shown to be the fault of the wife or her family, all presents and other property, together with the *consawment*, must be returned to the husband, except the moneys expended by him for the maintenance of his wife.

If the husband dies, the funeral expenses are paid by his family, but the widow and her family must pay their share.

2. TIMNE LAW. The Timne, a tribe which occupies a considerable area in the western portion of the Protectorate of Sierra Leone, number some 300,000 and are rapidly embracing Islam. Of the one hundred and eighty paramount chiefdoms in the whole Protectorate, no less than forty belong to the Timne. They are, therefore, a tribe of considerable importance in that part of Africa; and as they are an intelligent people, the Moslem priests have found their country a rich field for propaganda work.

An action brought into the court of the native chiefs by a Timne, who as the eldest son present, claimed under Timne Law the largest share of the personal property left by his father, a Moslem, was not decided by the court, until the opinion of *Mori*-men had been obtained.

In the Timne country, personal property descends to a son, whether adopted or not. Inherited or family property goes to a brother; or to the children of an elder brother; or to the children of a father's brother. The eldest son of each wife succeeds. An absentee or lost person *loses his rights*. All the sons can claim a portion of the personal property, the eldest by the principal wife receiving the greater share. He cannot, however, retain all this property for life; for upon the marriage of any or

all of the brothers, he is bound to purchase the wives, and hand over to the brothers a portion of the property. If, however, any of the sons of a family are held to be unfitted to own; or are wastrels; or refuse to work; they are barred from inheriting their portion, the younger sons thereby receiving a larger share.

In the above action, the eldest son was, in fact, proved to be lost and an absentee; and thereby under Timne Law, had no rights of inheritance in the estate. No proof of death was given.

The claimant, as next in succession, sued under the law of absence; but the chiefs were unable or unwilling to decide the matter, and referred the case to a Moslem priest, who was himself a Timne. In Mohammedan Law, a lost person is, with regard to his estate, considered to be living, in the absence of the proof of death; and no one can inherit from or instead of him. The estate must be preserved until proof of death is forthcoming; or until the term for a presumption of death *has been passed over*. Opinions differ as to what this term is, for "When not one of his equals in age remains, judgment may be given of his death."

Hasan, son of Ziyar, reports from Abu Hanifah that the term is no less than one hundred and twenty years from his birth. Mohammed says one hundred and ten years, and Abu Yusuf says one hundred and five years. The learned in the law say it must be ninety years, and from that opinion, decisions are made. Other Moslem authorities say that judgment must be suspended as to the right of another person and that the share from the estate of his ancestors must be preserved. When the term is elapsed, and judgment given of his death, the estate goes to his heirs. Whatever was reserved on his account from the estate of his ancestors, is restored to the heir of his ancestor.

The Moslems, to whom this case was referred, advised against the claimant on the ground of the absence of proof of death, and so being lost and absent no one could

inherit his share. This opinion was upheld by the court and judgment was given accordingly.

The laws of the Timne are interesting and on the whole simple; but they are being increasingly influenced by Mohammedan doctrines.

Prior to the formation of a British Protectorate, a murderer was, in some cases, put to death in the same manner as that in which he killed his victim. The family usually demanded compensation from the relatives of the murderer, and if this was refused, one of the male relatives of the murdered man was required to shoot him: and this was usually done by a brother. The murderer's body was then taken into the bush, where he was left unburied to be devoured by animals. If, however, a person not a relative was chosen to shoot the murderer, he would do it by hiding and waiting for the latter. In that case he would have to be buried by his relatives. Where a murderer escapes from justice, some member of his family would approach the family of the deceased, and offer compensation. If this compensation was accepted, the murderer would, in the course of time, be allowed to return, without punishment. The compensation would be paid out of the murderer's property, but if he had none, the family had to find the money.

There is no fixed age at which a man is considered legally fit to manage property; probably because a large proportion of the people do not know what their ages are. A young man who is regarded by his family to be steady, level-headed and responsible, may be allowed to manage and supervise property when in the early twenties. On the other hand, quite elderly people are excluded for various reasons. As a rule the eldest son can claim, and is allowed to manage inherited property; but a great deal of it is held and looked after jointly by the family. If a son is lazy and refuses to work, or is a drunkard, he would be excluded.

With regard to heirs, the sons inherit first; then the father's brothers; then the brothers by a different mother;

then the daughters, and lastly the sons of a father's brother. If there are several brothers living in one house and the two elder die, the children of the elder brother will inherit the property. They can also claim one-quarter of the property of the next two elder brothers. If no male exists in a family, the chief could claim the property, but rarely exercises this right. If a daughter succeeds, her sons or the sons of her sisters become the heirs. Where no nearer heirs exists, succession to property through the mother might be admitted. Notwithstanding that an heir may inherit no property, he is liable for the debts of the deceased.

Agricultural property that is perishable can be shared among the father's brothers. The usufruct thereof can go to the guardian; but the farm and the products therefrom would belong to the children when deemed to be of age. If a guardian has had the sole care of a farm, he could claim a proportion of the livestock for his trouble in looking after it.

If a man is engaged to be married, and has paid some of the fees required by native law, and meanwhile dies, his father's brother could claim the bride. But if her family refund the bride-price the claim would not hold. Neither would such claim hold if the bride objected to such marriage; but the bride-price must be refunded by her family if the objection is to be valid in law.

When twins inherit property they are deemed to be one person. They would each inherit a half-share of such property that would ordinarily fall to an heir. Formerly the Timne held their women folk in small esteem; and a large number of them, although freeborn, were little better than slaves in their relationship with their husbands. They did most of the work, could be divorced without trouble, and had few if any rights. Mohammedan influence has largely changed that; and now freeborn women occupy an almost equal place with their husbands. The Moslem priests have taught that when a woman is of age, she is legally entitled to all the rights which belong to her

as an independent person: and that upon her marriage she does not lose these rights, although she has duties to perform towards her husband. Being a separate member of society, her existence is not absorbed by that of her husband. No doctrine of coverture is recognized, and she can hold her property in her own right. She has access to the courts, and after she has passed to her husband's house, she is entitled to all the rights which the law gives to men. The privileges that belong to her as a woman are secured to her by Moslem Law, which thus supersedes the ancient customary Timne Law. She retains in her home the rights which the law allow her as a responsible member of society. She is allowed to enter into contracts with her husband, and if necessary can proceed against him in the courts. The property acquired by her earnings cannot be seized by her husband and she has the right to redress if her husband is cruel, unfaithful or a drunkard. Therefore under this increasing Moslem influence, the lot of women in many of the pagan tribes who are gradually being brought within its sphere is improving enormously.

Land descends in the male line to the eldest son. Where there are a number of brothers, it is the custom of each brother to take a share, the division being made by the inheritor. If the owner has given a farm to each wife, which is the custom, the children would succeed to the farms. A paramount-chief can claim land on loan for and on behalf of the clan, and need make no payment therefor. Whenever the use of land is loaned by one party to another, witnesses must be present; and such a loan would not be binding without some payment being made. If such loaned land is not redeemed within the specified time, the borrowers can retain the use of the land. If, however, the original owner needs the land, he must refund the money received for it, together with any crops sown thereof, after the last crop has been reaped and retained by the borrower.

Under Timne Law, land, as well as practically any

other kind of property, personal or otherwise, can be pawned. But where a farm has been cultivated, or where the bush has been cleared and burnt¹ in preparation for immediate cultivation, it cannot be pawned. Any growing crop can, however, be sold immediately after planting, and before it is cut. Whenever land is pawned, and the value of the pledge is received in money or in kind, the pawnee can retain the land until both the principal and interest have been paid. He can also clear and cultivate it within a reasonable time to be agreed upon by the parties to the transaction. If a person obtains the permission of the tribal authority to clear any virgin forest at his own expense for the purpose of cultivating it; and if within a reasonable time after the clearing such cultivation is made, the land can be claimed by the cultivator, provided that the approval of the tribal authority is obtained.

Where a stranger enters the country for the purpose of residing therein, he is allowed, after a period of not less than twelve months' residence, to obtain the use of land from the tribal authority, or from the family with whom he is residing, subject to the approval of the chief. But in the event of such a stranger being an undesirable resident, or being convicted of crime, he, together with his family, can be removed from the chieftdom. No child of the son or daughter of such a stranger by a native woman of the country can, however, be removed, as they are deemed to be native subjects of the country with all rights and privileges thereof.

Boundaries of various property are made with trees, sticks and stones. Large trees are used to mark out considerable tracts of land; sticks and stones to delimit farm property. All the bush situated round the towns and villages belong nominally to the sub-chief as such, but not to him individually. It can be cleared and utilized at his discretion for village sites, or for other public use.

¹The author is unable to ascertain whether the bush must be burnt as well as cut in order legally to prohibit the pawning of the land.

Landed property, like other property, is held in trust by the eldest son. But where there is no son it can be held by the elder brother of the deceased for the daughters; and the latter can claim it if there are no brothers.

By native law, the paramount-chief holds all uncultivated forest or bush land; house and farm land; and all unclaimed property in the chiefdom which belongs to his tribe. He has considerable powers, but cannot seize private property without the consent of the elders in council.

House and the usufruct of farm land are individual property. When a man marries, he builds his own house; but on the death of his mother, he might, but does not always, return to her house. On the death of his father, he would be expected to rebuild his mother's house, provided that she is too old to remarry.

All trees belong to the owner of the usufruct of the land; but where they are planted on another's land with the consent of the owner, they belong to the planter. When a stranger wishes to use the products of trees which belong to the tribe, he must obtain the permission of the chief, and, if this is granted, give him a share of such products. All palm trees belong to the tribe, that is to the public; but if *poro* is placed upon all or any of them at certain seasons for the purpose of preventing the nuts from being cut, no person can touch them. Wherever palm trees occur on a farm, none but the owner is permitted to go into that farm before the rice harvest. Palm wine cannot be taken from any tree whether standing in a farm or not until the *poro* is removed. Where palm trees are growing on a farm, no palm wine can be obtained therefrom until after the harvest is reaped.

Moslem influence is so strong in many places that wherever it exists, the palm trees now belong to individual owners of the usufruct of the land, and therefore their permission must be obtained before any nuts can be cut. Whenever the usufruct of such land is loaned to another person, the owner retains full rights over the trees thereon.

Among the bearing trees the kola is one of the most valuable. These trees can be planted anywhere, and there is no law against planting them upon tribal land; but to establish a claim, such land must be cleared and planted in the presence of witnesses. Daughters usually inherit kola trees; but if they have sons, they would afterwards inherit the property. Banana, orange, lime, pawpaw and mango trees are individual property. When an unmarried daughter inherits trees belonging to her family, she has full rights over the fruit until she marries, when it goes to the next heir in her family.

Debts are inherited; and if a debtor dies without meeting his obligations, his heirs are responsible for the debts of the deceased. Under the ancient customary law, a creditor has considerable power over a debtor. If the former is unable to pay, his creditor can seize and sell him. He can also enter his house and seize his children and pawn one or more of them. He can seize, retain, or sell some or all of the debtor's property, but not more than the equivalent value of the amount owed. Domestic animals are not often pawned. Cows are sometimes pledged, and when the death of such a cow takes place, the body must be returned to the owner. If a cow is killed by *carnivora*, or is stolen, or becomes sick, the owner must be informed; and where neglect is proved or presumed, the pawnee is held responsible.

A large number of articles, domestic, personal or otherwise, are pawned under arrangements mutually agreed upon between the parties. If the time for repayment lapses, the article becomes the property of the lender. If any article is lost, damaged, or destroyed while in pawn, the pawnee is responsible for the value thereof.

A person can pawn himself, but not his wife. He has a right to pawn his children with or without the consent of his wife. When the person pawned dies, the family are responsible for the debt. If a man who is free born, pawned his son, the tooth of a leopard is sometimes tied

round his neck or wrist; a leopard's tooth being the emblem of freedom. When a slave pawns his child, a key may be tied round the wrist or neck of the latter, as this signifies that the person pawned has not been born in freedom. Whenever a man pawned himself, his wife or wives are supposed to return to their parents. When a person in pawn becomes sick or is lazy or useless for work, he can be returned to the pawner, and the debt would not thereby be cancelled. If a young girl is pawned to a man, he could marry her if she is of age. But while in pawn she could not marry any other free man. When she becomes of marriageable age, steps would usually be taken by her family to redeem her. Whenever a loan is made, and there is no agreement as to the payment of interest, it cannot be afterwards claimed. A preliminary fee is generally paid for the loan.

Where a debt has been incurred and it is repudiated by the debtor, and satisfaction cannot be obtained by the creditor from a native court, the creditor may swear the debtor on country medicine. Before such action can be taken by him, the chief must be informed. He has the right to stay the proceedings, provided that he allows the case to be subsequently tried in the native court. The system of pawning exists throughout a large part of tropical Africa; and owing to its prevalence in the Timne country, and the amount of trouble and interminable disputes that arose out of it, the Administration enacted that no Timne may forfeit or dispose of any article pawned or pledged to him without first reporting his intention to the tribal ruler, who will summon the pawner or pledger. Should the pawner or pledger fail to do so, then the tribal ruler causes the pawn to be sold, and from the proceeds pays the pawnee or pledgee the amount for which the article was pledged or pawned, and pays over the balance, if any, to the owner or pledger.

Corporal punishment is given by the native courts, especially where Mohammedan influence prevails. Fines are also inflicted in both pagan and Moslem centres.

In civil cases both parties "stake" or pay into court a sum of money in proportion to the importance of the case, or of the value of the property or article under dispute. The losing side not only forfeits the money so staked, but also has to meet any fine imposed by the court in addition.

When a person is unable to satisfy the judgment of the court, he can be seized and his family called upon to meet the debt. In default their goods can also be seized. Where there are no goods or the property is insufficient to meet the debt or fine, any one or more members of the debtor's family can be seized and retained until the judgment is satisfied. While thus held, they would have to work, and could thus in time satisfy the judgment.

It was not often that a murderer would be killed for his crime without trial by the chiefs. When such a case was tried, both parties would give a valuable present to the paramount-chief. This usually consisted of two slaves, one of which was handed by the chief to the family of the victim. Both parties would also have to make a sacrifice, the value of which was determined by the wealth of each. A cow might be given, and the meat divided between the families. If the slave given to the victim's family was a boy, he must not be a relative of the murderer, because afterwards he was adopted by the family. The boy was called the cleaner or sweeper of the grave, *Karbol Karbomar*. If a female slave was given, she was not barred in marriage to a member of the family. If a man killed his wife, he was compelled to compensate her family by handing over to them a female member of his own family.

When a dead body was discovered, it had, if identified, to be buried by the family. They would make inquiries into the matter, and a medicine man was called to ascertain how the death took place. He, accompanied by some members of the family, would proceed to the spot, and would make medicine to find out the cause of death. If murder was pronounced, attempts were made to find the murderer. He would be "sworn," and his name

called, and medicine would be made against him to cause his death. If the murderer was caught and confessed; or gave himself up, his family were compelled to pay a sum of money to the chief. The amount to be paid would be assessed upon the wealth of the family. The latter would have to prove in court that they were in no way responsible for the crime.

If a man killed himself, it was put down to witchcraft or to some other form of magic influence. His family was fined a sum of money assessed upon their property; and a sacrifice was made at their expense. When a cow was sacrificed, a portion of the meat would be given to the family of the deceased.

Although in hunting expeditions accidents are rare in proportion to the risks run, men are occasionally killed. If a hunter killed one of his party, or a stranger while hunting, and it was an accident, he was bound to report the matter to the chief as soon as possible after the event. He could send a messenger to make the report. Before confessing that he had killed a man, he would have to take an oath on "medicine" that the death was caused by an accident; and before doing so must place his gun on the corpse of the man he killed.

Theft was dealt with in a variety of ways. If a thief of either sex had been several times convicted, and if considered to be incorrigible, he was sold by his family into slavery. Petty larceny was punished by stocking. A theft taking place within the family circle was considered less serious than when committed outside it. The usual punishment was stocking; and this was the punishment often given for a minor theft committed outside the family. A thief might be stocked and roped to a post of the chief's verandah where all the people could see him. No one was allowed to touch or speak to the thief while undergoing that punishment.

The most serious thefts were: Stealing any large quantity of rice, cows, sheep and ducks; also kidnapping. If the theft was a first offense, and if the thief's family had

influence and appealed to the chief, he might escape punishment of a more severe kind by paying three, and in some cases, four times the value of the property stolen. He might pay this in kind, the stolen property being replaced by its exact equivalent. Otherwise a thief might be severely flogged, being first tied up. He might also, under Moslem influence, suffer the loss of one or both hands by cutting; or be sold into slavery. If a thief was seen entering a village at night, or breaking into a house or store, he could be shot; and if killed it would be no murder. When a thief contemplated breaking or entering a house at night to steal, he would divest himself of all clothes, and rub his body all over with palm oil. If caught, it would be difficult for a person to retain hold of him owing to the slippery state of his body. He would wear an amulet, which has the power of making him immune from capture. Sometimes he would cover his face with a mask made of grass called *Karlolum*, and for this reason thieves are sometimes called by that name.

Since the formation of a Protectorate, it has of recent years been the policy of the Administration to support the authority of paramount sub-chiefs and elders; that is generally to uphold the power of the tribal authority. In the Timne country the office of paramount-chief, *Kandeh*, is of a comparatively recent introduction; and appears to go back only a few generations. At first a paramount-chief was a mere figurehead; but if elected on account of his wealth he was able to wield considerable influence. He could and did interfere in political events, even outside his own chiefdom; and in the event of war he could use his wealth to bring about a settlement by giving money to both sides. Whenever two families or clans, *Abunar*, have a right to share the succession, it is said that one of the clans owed its position, to the assistance given to the original family in a time of war.

The customary laws of the death of a paramount-chief are that when he dies no public proclamations can be

made until all the under or sub-chiefs and heads of the principal families have been first confidentially informed.

Formerly a chief was not allowed to die a natural death. The law was that immediately before death his throat had to be cut and his head severed from his body. The head was dried and then handed over to the successor who was bound to guard it most carefully, and when he died the head was buried with him. Sacrifices were made to the head; and in times of war it was consulted for guidance and assistance.

For the selection of a new chief the customary law is that when there are two or more royal houses, the crown must be inherited alternately. No member of the family of the deceased chief can claim the crown, as a senior male member of the royal house must be selected. He must not be the eldest son of a former chief, but his brother or uncle.

When a new chief is elected, he must undergo a course of instruction in the *Kantar*, where rulers are taught the law, the duties of his office, and how to administer the country with the help and advice of the elders of tribal authority. He may have to remain in the *Kantar* for a month or a year, or even longer; and while there only the officials of that school are allowed to see and speak to him. These consist of selected members of the Council of Elders and an old woman who acts as cook. She is sworn to secrecy and has carefully to guard and look after the chief's food and drink. In the *Kantar* the chief must be made secure against his enemies by washing him with a medicine called *nessie*, which is prepared by the Moslem priests. They also made charms for him which are placed around his neck. The chief cannot leave the *Kantar* until the tribal authority has fixed the date, when as many of his subjects as possible gather together immediately after dawn in the *Sal Karneh*, or prayer ground, used in Ramadan. The whole assembly must face the east. A procession is formed with the chief in the centre, and they must come from the east. He must be escorted in this

procession by the elders of his country; and when all have arrived at the *Sal Karneh* the chief is given a seat facing the east. The *Alpha*, or Mohammedan priest, then slowly advances towards the chief holding the royal crown in his hands. This is a white turban placed in a calabash of the same colour. The *Alpha* must then place the turban upon the head of the chief, quoting prayers from the Koran while doing so. The assistant of the *Alpha* has to sing the praises of the chief; and while holding the calabash in both hands, asks all those people who are loyal to come forward and pay tribute. The public then put money in the calabash or in the pocket of the chief himself, which is placed in a conspicuous and convenient position on his gown; or the money is put in the lap of his principal wife called *Bwn Warrar*, who must be seated next to him. She is crowned immediately after the chief.

The money received in the calabash goes to the *Alpha* for his fee. After the ceremony the people disperse and the chief enters his own yard to receive presents from his family and friends. In his chiefdom the paramount-chief is now supreme and his court is the ultimate appeal to all litigants.

If the decision of a paramount-chief is directly contrary to tribal law, the party aggrieved is able, in accordance with immemorial tradition, to appeal to another chief of equal status. In that event, the authority appealed to would apply to the chief to give his mandate for retrial of the case; and no chief would be likely to refuse a colleague the right to review his judgment.

As in other parts of Western Africa, the tribal authority, with the paramount-chief at its head, possesses absolute authority and control over the territories belonging to the tribe. It can decide what land is to be cultivated and what left waste; and the extent and boundaries of the various clans. It is all-powerful; is held in the greatest respect by the whole community and its decrees are law. It protects the old and the weak and provides them with food and shelter and assures that every person has his

place and is provided for. The conduct, *étiquette* and code of manners of the people are governed by it, the young being impressed with the necessity of showing respect to their elders. However much a tyrant a paramount-chief may desire to be, it would be difficult, and in some respects impossible, for him to act contrary to the views of his counsellors. The latter being persons of mature age and experience, represent sober public opinion and are supported by the majority of the people. The tribal, which includes the family, system, is the pillar upon which the native structure is built. For it educates and controls the tribe, in addition to administering its affairs. It is truly democratic and one which for the welfare and preservation of the native races of Africa, must be upheld at all costs. By its means, the native is a member of a recognized society, having his position and his place defined within the community, as well as his occupation allotted to him.

The Administration in their desire to support the chiefs and uphold native law have laid down that every member must carry out the instruction of the tribal ruler with respect to keeping his house and compound clean; and he must not interfere with the tribal authority or disturb any meeting convened by that authority. He has further to pay the sum of one shilling monthly to the tribal authority, which sum is placed to the credit of an account with the Post Office Savings Bank in the names of the tribal ruler and two of the principal headmen. The money is disbursed by the tribal authority on objects considered by them to be for the good of the tribe in any town. Such objects include the relief of the poor and sick; burial of the poor having no relations at time of death, and relief of any member of the tribe in distress. The tribal ruler does not disburse the moneys thus received by him except with the consent of the two headmen, to whose joint credit the contributions have been received by the Savings Bank; and no withdrawal is made without the written authority of the Commissioner

having been first obtained. Customary legal fees are paid to the tribal ruler for the settlement of disputes, provided that, it has been laid down, the aggregate amount of fees payable in respect of a dispute does not exceed twenty shillings. After the serious native rising of 1898, when the Timne under Chief *Bai Burreh* attempted but failed to throw off all European control, a large number of the young men of the country left their homes in search of employment and a fuller scope for their energies. Before the coming of the *Pax Britannica*, the presence of the young men as protectors of their towns and families was necessary, owing to the constant state of internecine warfare which existed. This state of affairs having now passed away, a number of them are today to be found in all parts of West Africa, and even in the Sudan. Not only the young men of the better class families went abroad, but the slaves also. Many of the latter thought that the coming of the British Administration was an excellent opportunity for them to run away from their masters. A number of the old slaves, domestic or otherwise, afterwards regretted the step they had taken in severing themselves from their own country and from the families with which they had lived for years, or perhaps since birth. They were quite ignorant of the outside world; and many of them found themselves far worse off than they had ever been before. Some went or were taken into the hinterland of the Congo, and to the cocoa plantations of Portuguese West Africa, where their taskmasters were perhaps far harder and more exacting than their "fathers" in the country of their birth or enforced adoption. A certain number of these slaves, finding the outside world too hard for them, voluntarily returned to their former masters at home, and resumed the work under them, which they had so hastily and rashly abandoned. The freeborn among them, after working hard and saving money, would return, sometimes after several years of absence, to their parents.

They would, however, not remain at home for long, as

having once travelled, the spirit of adventure had seized them; and after giving away or spending all their money, they would start off again to seek more work, or return to their former employment. With their minds widened, though perhaps rarely improved, by travel; and having come into contact with other peoples, they were apt upon their return home to look down upon the old people, as ignorant, and "people of the bush." Unfortunately while abroad, their untrained minds appeared only capable of absorbing the bad and rejecting the good. They mixed with all kinds of undesirable people, including degenerate and perhaps criminal natives who had been forced to flee from their own country, and who, for reasons best not inquired into, had not always formed a very high opinion of all white men and their culture. They mixed with the *Kru* boys on the coast and on the trading steamers; a number of whom, unfortunately, spent their holidays in England in some of the worst slums of the large shipping ports.

The old people in their country naturally resented the superior attitude of their sons; and of course failed to understand or appreciate the cause of such a great change in their demeanor, and why they no longer respected the word of their fathers and their chiefs. Matters became so bad in this respect that the latter made a formal complaint to the Government, stating that they no longer had any power or control over their boys after they had once been abroad; that the people, including the domestic slaves, were leaving them; and they asked the Government to stop or restrict such emigration. Owing to the increasing number of these emigrants, and because of the local demands for carriers and labourers, the Government took action, and passed an ordinance which considerably restricted the emigration of natives from the country. They also strengthened the hands of the chiefs in this respect, and issued regulations based upon and supporting the tribal native law; whereby the tribal authority had the power to prevent their people from leaving the chief-

doms, and if found outside, to return them to their own county.²

These regulations enacted that if any Timne remains in any town in the Colony that is outside the Protectorate without regular employment for more than twenty-one days, or fails to give a satisfactory account of his means of subsistence, he is deemed an idle and disorderly person, and is liable, in addition to, or in lieu of, any other punishment, to be ordered by the Commissioner to return to his chiefdom; and if he fail within a reasonable time to comply with such order he is liable on summary conviction to imprisonment, with or without hard labour, for a period not exceeding three calendar months. Any Timne found outside his tribal boundary may be interrogated by the tribal ruler or by a member of the police force as to his means of subsistence, his present place of abode, and the chiefdom to which he belongs, and on his failing to answer, or if his answers are unsatisfactory, he may be taken to the nearest police station, there to be detained with a view to his being charged under the last preceding clause. If it is found that any Timne has, in contravention of this native law, left the chiefdom to which he belongs without obtaining the consent of the chief or proper authority, such man is liable to be returned by the tribal ruler to his country.

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(To be concluded in July.)

²*Echnology of the Mendi*, Major Brathwaite Wallis.

METHODS OF EVANGELISM AMONG CHINESE MOSLEMS

It is hardly to be wondered at that, during the greater part of the first century of missionary labour in China, the Moslem population was, to a large extent, overlooked. The number of Mohammedans in the country can hardly exceed two and one-half per cent of the total population, and of these by far the larger proportion live in the western provinces: Yunnan, Kansu and Sinkiang. But during the early years there were forces at work that have accumulated to produce the interest in the problem of their evangelization that is now beginning to show itself in missionary circles.

The presence of Mohammedans in China was noted in books written by early missionaries, some of whom seem to have come into contact with them in conversation in guest rooms and mosques. Later on, as missionaries pressed on westwards into Kansu and Yunnan, they found a Moslem population which, while it might be neglected, could hardly be overlooked. Moslem influence was felt throughout the provinces. When Mr. Horobin, of the China Inland Mission, came to a district in the north of Kansu, he was so keenly impressed by the need for special workers that he wrote to Syria asking that a Christian converted from Islam might come as a missionary to Chinese Moslems. This was nearly thirty years ago. Similar appeals have gone out since, to India and to Egypt, but though Moslems from Persia, Afghanistan, and India bring Moslem literature across the deserts and mountains of Central Asia to the Moslems of China, no one who has himself been saved from the shackles of Islam has yet come with the glad tidings of freedom. The day of opportunity is now; for when Christianity and Islam really come to grips in China—which they have

not done hitherto—there will perhaps be closed doors to be opened instead of the doors that now stand flung wide open, but would almost seem to be beginning to creak on their hinges.

Thirty years ago there were missionaries in Kansu who took an active interest in Moslems. Mr. G. W. Hunter (now in Urumchi), lived in the largest Moslem centre of the province for a year or more, and learned some Arabic. He also made wide itinerations in the course of which he passed through Moslem districts. Mr. H. F. Ridley was working on their behalf as well as for Chinese, Tibetans, and aborigines. When the Mohammedan rebellion broke out in 1895, he was able to render aid to a number of Moslem wounded and thus to establish a contact that has been maintained until the present time. This very rebellion served to create a wider interest in Chinese Mohammedans than had existed previously.

Missionaries in various parts of the country have taken an interest in them. Articles about their doctrines and customs have appeared in the *Chinese Recorder* and papers have been read at various conferences on the same subjects. No doubt Mr. Marshall Broomhall's book, "Islam in China," did much to arouse Christians to a sense of responsibility in regard to this people. Recently translations of various Moslem pamphlets have appeared in THE MOSLEM WORLD and the *Chinese Recorder*. So interest has increased.

Meanwhile Mr. F. H. Rhodes, working in Yunnan, had done special work for those found there. After some years in the province, his health broke down; but this proved to be the opening of a gate into a larger field of service. For from that time, although living away from them, he has been working for Moslems throughout all China, and missionaries in every part of the country have come to look to him for suitable literature, and for advice, sympathy, and prayer.

Dr. Zwemer's visit in 1917 was of the utmost value in bringing interest to a head. A special committee to

organize work for Moslems was formed to act in conjunction with the China Continuation Committee, with Mr. C. L. Ogilvie as its secretary. (His sudden death has grieved the missionary body throughout China.) This committee is now doing invaluable work in the production of special literature.

So the way is being prepared for the Messengers of the Cross to advance with better equipment than ever before.

We can now turn our attention to the methods of evangelism that are actually in use with a view to the salvation of Chinese Moslems.

1. DIRECT EVANGELISM. In East and Central China, where communities are usually small—consisting of only a few hundreds or even tens of families—special preaching is obviously difficult or impossible. But it has usually been found that a missionary is well received in the mosques, and a considerable amount of work (taken in the aggregate) has been done by visiting them. This is what Mr. Ogilvie frequently did in Peking. The fact that Chinese Moslems are generally very much interested in theology, makes an interesting conversation almost certain on such visits. Occasionally one is made to feel that one's presence is considered objectionable, and in one instance, quite recently, a missionary was hustled from a mosque. But this is the exception at present. No one can foretell what the attitude will be when the strength of Christianity and its vital opposition to Mohammedanism are fully realized.

In China the guest room has often proved a valuable medium for missionary work, and in the case of work among Moslems this is especially the case. With Arabic and Chinese Bibles and a good supply of suitable literature in both languages, also a Koran, much can be done. This kind of work has been done in several parts of China. It appears to be necessary to entertain Moslem guests apart from Chinese; otherwise one cannot get beyond surface etiquette. Reading rooms for Mohammedans have been opened in some places.

A method that has proved of real value in China, has been the sending of suitable literature by post to mosques and so forth. That this method has already had its effects may be judged from the following sentences from the preliminary announcement of a book to be published by Moslems in Tientsin:

"Since the entry of the various religions into our country, we have not had the calamity of religious controversy; for each has followed its own laws, and has not attacked the others. But during recent years the Jesus people have levelled all kinds of criticisms at our religion, even going so far as to send letters to each mosque, trying to get up arguments. . . ."

As the distances to be traversed, especially in Sinkiang and Kansu, mean that visits can, at present, only be paid to most centres at long intervals, if at all, it will be readily understood that the post office has great possibilities as an aid to missionary work in those districts. Other advantages of this method will suggest themselves to all who have had experience among Moslems.

In larger centres more definite preaching is possible. In Yunnan a preaching shop was opened on certain days in a Moslem quarter, when there was preaching and book-selling especially for Mohammedans. Coming to Kansu and Sinkiang: the latter province should rightly be called "far away," and the term is constantly applied, with less reason, to Kansu. In one large Moslem centre, it is hoped to secure premises and fit them up for medical and evangelistic work within a few years. But what is urgently needed in these two provinces at present, is itineration to prepare the ground for more settled work, and to bring the Gospel to those who will otherwise not hear it for years to come. A short account of a trip taken by Dr. King, of the Borden Memorial Hospital, Lanchow, and the writer, may serve to illustrate the kind of work done. Journeys in Sinkiang, made by Messrs. Hunter, Mather, and others are somewhat similar, but on a much larger scale and under far more trying circumstances.

The itineration (including a stay of a fortnight) at Hochow lasted a month, from late January to late February of this year. We rode on horseback (one horse being a mule!) and had a donkey to carry extra clothing, books, an acetylene lamp, etc. (The lamp is mentioned as being a bit of a method in itself. It has been found that the crowd collecting to see a lantern show is sometimes restive and usually talkative. A plain acetylene light gathers an audience that is generally quiet and attentive.) On the first and second days, we passed westward from Lanchow, capital of Kansu, through country inhabited chiefly by Chinese and aborigines, giving away tracts in the villages and towns through which we passed. When we came to a Moslem food-shop or met a Moslem traveler, we gave away special tracts. On the third day, we came through country that has seldom or never been traversed by a Protestant missionary, to a market town which, with the surrounding country, is largely peopled by Moslems (two-thirds of the population are Mohammedans). Here we stayed a whole day. After visiting one of the mosques, we preached on the street, and sold a number of books. The new Arabic-Chinese diglot of Matthew was very popular. For the evening, we announced that there would be preaching when the acetylene lamps would be lighted. As soon as it began to get dark, our inn was fairly besieged; little boys climbed on the roof and a crowd banged at the front door. For the sake of the innkeeper, we preached on the street and, in spite of the cold, had a good audience all the time. The next day's journey took us mostly through aborigine country, but in the evening we crossed the ice on the Yellow River and were in the district inhabited by Salars—a tribe of immigrants from somewhere round Samarkand who have been in Western Kansu for several hundreds of years. We found them to be poor and ignorant, so that our tracts were of little avail. Those from Kashgar did not seem to be understood, although the Salars' own language is a kind of Turki. Preaching is what is needed and we were

unable to stay in the district. So all we could do was to leave some Arabic literature with various *Ahungs* (Mul-lahs). These people are far too untouched by the Gospel to have much idea of opposition to it yet. The next day's journey brought us through mountainous country inhabited entirely by Salars, in which every village and hamlet seemed to have its mosque, to the little border town of Hsunhwa which is in the centre of the Salar country. Its population consists of about sixty per cent Chinese and forty per cent Mohammedans, so we received a number of Moslem guests, including several Salars in our inn, preached on the street, and sold and distributed literature. Returning eastward we passed through country inhabited for the first half day by Salars, further on by Tibetans, and finally by Chinese and "Chinese Moslems," over a pass of some 13,000 feet, arriving in Hochow on the third day. This is the largest and most important Moslem centre in Kansu. We rented rooms in an inn in the suburb, which is the Moslem part, and is far busier than the city itself. The city is almost entirely Chinese. The doctor saw patients during the day, and performed several operations. In the evenings we gave lectures on the Scriptures, the "Six Great Prophets" (Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, David, JESUS), and two medical lectures—eleven in all. It was necessary, on account of the smallness of our quarters, to issue tickets for these lectures. On the second evening we noticed several *Ahungs* listening keenly. They wanted to argue. But we decided against it. The subject of the third evening was a ticklish one—"The Scriptures"—and on the fourth evening our little room (a disused shop at the end of the inn-yard) was crammed, and there was a big crowd at the door demanding to come in. They had the inn doors off their sockets three times before we managed to persuade them to go home. Those in the room had evidently come prepared to get up a disturbance; the lecture ended in a storm, and discussion was demanded. Then whatever the Moslem gentleman who represented their side said, was

loudly cheered and whatever the Christian might say, he was jeered at and finally howled down. The rumor of the affair came to the ears of the district magistrate, and he sent round to beg us not to proceed with the lectures. The police and the highest Moslem official also seem to have given orders to their underlings not to allow the foreigners to be molested. It so happened that the next lecture was to be a medical one, so there would be no likelihood of argument. We finally decided that it must be given as promised, but it was delivered on the street, so that at least the innkeeper's premises would be safe! The evening passed off quietly, so the magistrate seemed less nervous. (It is no easy thing to be a Chinese magistrate in a Moslem centre like Hochow. So we were able to continue the lectures on the street. Everything turned out well; our lamp did not blow out and in spite of snow on a couple of evenings we had larger audiences than we could possibly have had in the inn. The only untoward incident was the withdrawal of some premises that had been rented for missionary work.

Where the Moslem communities are small, it would perhaps be hardly fair in the face of chronic shortage of workers and immense opportunities in general missionary work, to expect missionaries to give whole time to work among them. A general knowledge of Mohammedanism, an open ear for terms, and sympathetic patience would equip any missionary to visit mosques, entertain Moslem guests and distribute special literature, without much interfering with his ordinary work. And this is how work has been done in most instances so far. But when one comes to the northwestern and southwestern provinces, one cannot but feel it to be imperative, if this work is to be done properly, that several *missionaries be set aside specially* for it. In Sian, the capital of the province of Shensi, where there is a fairly large Moslem community, Mrs. Thor, of the Scandinavian Alliance Mission, erected premises on the edge of the Mohammedan quarters intending to give her life to work there.

But her Lord had some higher service for her, and took her away almost before her work commenced. In Kansu there are now four missionaries actively interested, and two whose aim it is to give whole time to the evangelization of Moslems. The work is in its beginnings; there is much to be learned, and there is a distressing shortage of workers to carry on the ordinary work. But in not too long a time, it will surely be possible to get more definitely on to the job.

2. MEDICAL WORK. In reference to this method one is unable to speak of any province but Kansu. In other provinces there have been Moslem patients treated in mission hospitals, but no definite information to hand. In Lanchow there is a hospital, erected in memory of William Borden. As it is the only one in the province with a fully trained medical staff, it will be realized that it is impossible to limit it to the treatment of Moslem patients. But special arrangements are made for such. There is a guest room fitted for their reception, and a special block of buildings for inpatients, which is kept "clean." No lard or anything else "unclean" is used.

In a province like Kansu, itinerant medical work has an important place, and much has been done. Medicine has been dispensed and operations performed in various places where there is a Moslem population. In such work it has been found advisable to make a stay of at least a month if at all possible, in the centre visited. Moslems have proved more willing to accept surgical treatment than have Chinese.

Among the Salars and in the Hochow District, there are a number of lepers, many or most of whom are Mohammedans or Tibetans. A general offer has been made when opportunity has offered, to house such in the Borden Hospital.

In turning from this subject, one might add that, but for the medical work done, such a stay as that, described above, in Hochow would almost certainly have been exceedingly difficult, if not impossible.

3. EDUCATIONAL WORK. It can hardly be said that there is any educational work done by missionaries with a special view to reaching Chinese Moslems, unless it be in Kashgar. But in Shantung, Szechuan and other provinces there are some Moslem children who attend mission schools. Even in one centre in one of those provinces in which Moslem influence is stronger, there is one Moslem boy in a Christian school. This may seem hardly worthy of mention. But in those provinces where the number of ex-Moslem Christians could be counted on the fingers of one hand, every step counts for something.

4. LITERATURE. When Mr. Marshall Broomhall wrote "Islam in China" he could only hear of three Christian tracts specially for Chinese Moslems. We are now far better equipped in this direction. There are fourteen booklets, eleven parable stories, several tracts and some Scripture portions in Chinese; some of these use a number of Chinese-Moslem terms. There are also, besides the Arabic Scriptures, an Arabic Chinese diglot of Matthew; Genesis, First Samuel, the Four Gospels and Bible History in Turki; and Mark in Qazaq-Turki. In Turki there are also two hymnbooks, two booklets, six tracts, and three educational books, besides three books to assist in the learning of the Turki language.

The preparation of literature for Chinese Moslems is a distinct problem. Until the present time the percentage of illiteracy among them has been very high. Most Moslem boys (I speak with certainty for Kansu only) learn the Arabic alphabet, but very few gain sufficient knowledge of the language to be of any practical value. Now special schools are being opened on all hands for the teaching of Chinese Moslems, but this is a very recent development. Beyond this problem of illiteracy, there lies a further one. As soon as one speaks to Moslems of religious subjects, one finds that there is a large vocabulary of terms, often very different from those decided upon by the Christian Church. These are of two kinds: Expressions coined or adopted from ordinary Chinese,

and more or less Chinese-ized Arabic and Persian words. The Committee on Work for Moslems under the China Continuation Committee has issued a list of a number of terms used in books by Moslems. But there are many expressions used by *Ahungs* in their "explanations" of the Koran—expressions of both the kinds noted above—that are very generally used by Moslems, that we have not yet got hold of. However, almost each book that has been published has had a better selection of Moslem terms than its predecessors, and we can look forward to the time when there will be books essentially and vitally Christian and yet thoroughly understood by and appealing to Chinese Moslems.

Nearly all this literature consists of translations. But there are a few original booklets, and we hope for more, that will more exactly meet the needs of Chinese Moslems, than even the present translations—excellent and highly appreciated by those in touch with Moslems as they are.

Best of all literature is the Bible; to it we look as our great foundation rock which stands out in splendid contrast to the superficial repetitions of the Koran.

MARK E. BOTHAM.

Lanchow, Kansu, China.

THE SUPREME AMULET

AN EGYPTIAN TALE*

Little Ahmed, the new-born son of Rosheda, wife of Mahmoud Ahmed of Fayoum City, stared solemnly out on his strange new world in a village that lay a few miles from the city itself, deep among tall millet fields. The low mud houses straggled along a dusty street that climbed a hill, and behind them were tangled bits of mud-walled gardens backing on to a steep wooded valley through which a canal ran, deep and full as a river between grassy, tree-bordered banks. Day and night the eternal water wheels of the Fayoum sang to her children. Day and night winds from the desert beyond fluted through the steep wooded valleys, the miniature hills, the long shaded roads. But all the baby saw of life was the narrow dusty street, each house blindly facing the roadway and built to betray as little as possible of the life within. And there, when he was seven days old, the village women met to fulfil every ceremony love could devise to shield him from that terror of all such simple hearts—the Evil Eye of the Envious. They wrapped him in an embroidered shawl and Rosheda, his little fifteen-year-old mother sitting on the gaily decorated Chair of Birth that had done similar duty for scores and generations of village mothers, held him in her arms while his grandmother struck a brass mortar close to his ears that the music by-and-by might not frighten him. The baby blinked but did not weep, and, this being an excellent omen, they shrilled and chattered with delight. They shook him up in a sieve to strengthen his poor little stomach, and they carried him into every part of the house to familiarize his soul with

*[This accurate interpretation of village life is reprinted from *The Egyptian Gazette* by special permission of the author.—ED.]

every corner of it while they sprinkled salt before him and the midwife cried, "The foul salt be in the Eye of the Envious." And each woman carried a gay little colored candle, stuck in a lump of henna, and later when they laid the baby on a mattress and carried him round for each guest to see they each gave him a bright colored handkerchief with a few milliemes knotted in one corner, and laid another coin beside the *goolah* or water-pot, that was hung with bright rags and borrowed jewelry, all to bring him luck. And then just as the village midwife, an old gossiping hag, was gathering up these coins, which were always her share of the day's entertainment, and the women were preparing the feast to follow, there entered, as in all good fairy tales there should enter—the Wicked Fairy.

In this case it was Hamida, the childless, one-eyed wife of Mahmoud Hosein, the *gaffir*, or village watchman. Hamida's face with its hungry mother-love and bitter jealousy burned into Rosheda's heart, so that, in sudden terror she snatched up the boy and hid him in her breast, at which Hamida, insulted, left the house again, laughing mockingly, without paying the customary *nukoot* to child or nurse. The women all made the sign against the Evil Eye hastily and buzzed like a hive disturbed, and the midwife devised a cunning charm to secure the baby against it. But the little passing incident planted deep in Rosheda's heart a terrible fear that no after security could remove. For though Ahmed grew to be a sturdy happy-go-lucky child in conditions that would have killed any self-respecting English baby in a week, Rosheda never could feel safe about him while Hamida yet walked the village street and laughed as she went by. She kept him spotlessly clean and clad in gay coloured clothes and the other women, wise in their age-old superstitions, shook their heads over her inordinate vanity as a direct invitation to the dreaded Evil Eye, even though the child was a walking museum of charms and amulets. Poor Rosheda, too proud of his beauty to let him go ragged and dirty like

the other children, spent all her time devising yet stronger spells. She toiled among the ruins of dead cities for the antique beads so highly esteemed among village folk. She sold her best copper pot, and thereby earned a beating from her husband, just to buy a little gold tassel, that, matted to his tiny forelock with a lump of alum should dangle between the child's mischievous black eyes and ward off the threatened peril. Sometimes at night she slipped away to sleep under the great gnarled thorn trees that line the road to the city, and are credited with magic powers.

Ahmed was a fat, laughing boy of two, whose steps led him into mischief twenty times a day to her mingled pride and terror, when the summer came down on them, claiming its yearly toll of child-life from the narrow dusty streets. No other child had been born to Rosheda, and Ahmed was her idol. And now he was wilting visibly in the heat, and not all her powers could help him one little bit. And it was common talk in the village that Hamida had said that the boy should yet some day be hers, a vague threat that filled the mother's heart with blind terror. When evening came Rosheda would carry the ailing child up the road beyond the village to where the great ancient water wheels droned out their eternal song, raising their dripping crown of earthen pots to fill the irrigation channels, day in day out, just as they had done for hundreds of years since hands long dead had set them there. All day and night from babyhood their cry wove into the simple web of village life, a *leit-motif*, scarce heard after a while, yet as much a part of every day as the scent of jasmine, or the beat of a tom-tom, or the date palms and thorn trees that shadowed the fields of millet that, like a waving green forest, grew for miles all about the village. Rosheda could no more imagine a land without the cry of the wheel than she could dream of the desert, the sea or cold lands far away where the gorgeous Eastern sun never shone. And here by the wheel one day her enemy found her. She came to repeat her offer to adopt the child, an

offer made half in jest, half earnest, always refused with scorn, yet this time presented with a scarcely suppressed excitement that Rosheda's watchful eyes did not miss. It was an insult to her motherhood to dream she would give up her darling, the light of her eyes, and she turned furiously on the daring speaker, although a moment later fear lent her sufficient cunning to refuse the offer quietly. Hamida laughed, tossing her head.

"You will think differently soon. That child is ill * * * only I can cure him. If you keep him he will die—like his father."

"What, oh you accursed woman! May you burn in hell," flamed out Rosheda savagely, "have you dared to touch my man too? Or are you only lying to torture me?"

"Not I—not I," crowed Hamida, "he is dead—for the great wheels beyond the village took him, and even now they are mourning for him outside your house."

Gathering up her flying black veil with swift, graceful gesture, Rosheda fled away from Hamida's evil, following laughter, down the long road that lay between her and the village. A sharp corner to be turned. A little hill to climb. Then the long, arrow-straight street, filled with the blood-red glow of the sunset and the trooping shadows that heralded the twilight. On her ears fell the high broken wailing of the women keening for the dead. In front of her house a crowd was gathered, the men gazing gloomily before them, the women wailing and sobbing, flinging their arms aloft with wild and tragic gestures. Rosheda broke through them and someone took the weeping baby from her arms as she flung herself down on her husband's body and gave herself up to wild and undisciplined grief, while all about her the women redoubled their cries, tearing their hair, casting dust on their heads, shrieking in growing frenzy. Mahmoud had slipped and been horribly crushed under the relentless iron swathes of the old wheel. All her life Rosheda had listened to its mournful song and never dreamed for what tragic omen it stood to her. All her life to the day she

died she would hear it yet, threaded with her sorrow. She did not realize that Hamida had merely seen the men carrying Mahmoud past the house and used her knowledge to try to frighten Rosheda. To the little widow it was all Black Magic, since Hamida was an All-Powerful One, and through her genuine passion of grief for the husband who had loved her after his fashion there ran a terrible fear of what might yet befall her son, than whom there was none dearer in earth or heaven.

After Mahmoud was buried she returned to her father's house till the days of her *eddeh* be accomplished. Life narrowed in for her and was filled with petty cares.

Her child ailed more visibly day by day. It was inevitable, according to her simple faith, if Hamida willed it so, and the doctor in the hospital in the city shook his head over him, for he seemed to be suffering from one of those curious wasting diseases that afflict childhood in the East and for which there seems so little chance of diagnosis or cure. Rosheda sought in vain for an amulet powerful enough to meet the case. And Hamida lost no chance of impressing on her that the only hope of cure was to give her up the child. And this idea of adoption, common enough as it is in the East, seemed more cruel to Rosheda than death itself. Soon however there came another factor into play. Rosheda's parents arranged a very satisfactory match for her with a rich and elderly widower in a neighbouring village. He already had three sons, so though he wanted the pretty seventeen-year-old widow for his wife he did not want her child, and it seemed an easy solution of all difficulties for her to give up the boy to Hamida. But Rosheda with unusual obstinacy held out against all their prayers and threats until she realized that all other methods of saving his life seemed futile. The baby wilted visibly in the heat and no charm nor amulet nor any medicine the doctor gave her could avail.

There remained only the supreme amulet of her love and her sacrifice and that Rosheda now gave her child.

She told her parents to arrange the necessary witnesses and joyfully Hamida came in haste to take possession. In the presence of half the village women she formally adopted him slipping him under her *galabieh* against her starving heart.

"Born again, he is mine," said Hamida, "he shall be called Mahmoud Hosein after his new father."

Scornfully she cast aside the clothes Rosheda had made for him, and the amulets her love had provided. Naked and weeping she bore him out, wrapped in her veil, while Rosheda in the inner room bit her hair and her hands in an effort to hush her cries lest her rival should hear and be glad. The stifling day died. The heat was tempered by a fitful breeze. In the tender light of a young new moon Rosheda crept out of her house, over the low mud wall of the courtyard to the valley behind. A delicate tracery of palms stood black against a sky as pale as milk, and the olive trees gathered together about her as if to hide her agony from the too inquisitive moon. By swinging herself into the branches of a giant lebbak tree she could peer down into Hamida's garden. Rank grass and the coarse, pale flowers of the *bdingan* rioted there. High stalks of silvery-bearded grasses swayed in the wind. Framed in the black outline of the house the open doorway stood out as if cut from gold paper, and Hamida, the One-Eyed, Hamida, the Childless One, sat there full in the light with a little, crowing, naked baby on her lap. She stooped and cuddled his soft yellow body, his little feet, his laughing black-lashed eyes. She rubbed him with oil and herbs, massaging him with cunning touch. Already he seemed brighter and better, turning to her, the stranger, for comfort in his loneliness.

In the moonlight and the silence, Rosheda listened while her enemy lulled her child to sleep. Another home was to be hers. Other children maybe would lie within her arms. Yet always her soul would be there, out in the dusty roadway of life—alone.

THORA STOWELL.

CURRENT TOPICS

Is Islam the Enemy of Europe?

A writer in *The New Age* who signs himself M. M. Sosmoi writes as follows concerning the present attitude of Islam towards civilization:

"It is important to realize Islam for what it is and to deal with it on its merits as a possible factor in the future functional organization of the world. Is it a positive or a negative force, progressive or reactionary, in the first place; and, in the second place, would the world, if it were fully conscious, as Europe has the duty of becoming for the world's sake, encourage the spread of Islam or take steps, and what steps, to circumscribe its influence in the world? It will be seen that these questions are asked in the spirit of our common humanity, in the name of man attempting consciously to fulfill the work of God; and the answers are, as far as is possible to us, given in the same spirit, without other conscious prejudice, that is to say, than the natural bias of human intelligence towards the triumph of intelligence. To the first question, then, we must reply that, on the whole, Islam is not only a static faith (or vision of the future, as every faith is)—and, we may add, to be static is to be retrogressive, since the world undoubtedly moves—but it is negative and reactionary in the sense that it exists only as a sharp reminder to Europe of something which European Christianity has failed to remember. Christianity, in the high European sense, was unmistakably intended to live by the Athanasian Creed, that Creed that commands the recognition of the several Persons of the Trinity while maintaining their unity; and exactly to the extent and in the degree to which Europe forgot the Unity in the Trinity, the synthesis in the analysis, the Creed of Islam with its exclusive affirmation of Unity and its consequent implied denial of the Trinity was made not only possible, but, in the world-sense, necessary. It has been said with a considerable amount of truth that Islam is a return to the Judaism from which Christianity emerged at so great a price of spirit. Islam is, indeed, a return, a throw-back to Judaism, and a retrogression, but it is something more—it is a positive and challenging reaction precisely against European Christianity. That it owes its existence to a defect in European Christianity and that, on this ground, its existence is within the psychological economy of the world, is true. But it must be remembered that the criticisms of Nature are acts, and that their secondary role is to destroy and supplant the thing criticized, if it fails to heed their warning. Islam must, therefore, be regarded as a salutary criticism of European Christianity only in so far as Europe has the intelligence to profit by it. In every other sense, Islam is necessarily and by its very virtue the enemy of Christianity and the enemy of Europe.

"What, then, should be Europe's attitude towards Islam? To attempt to 'destroy' it by the mission of a new Crusade is forbidden. Understanding is the first thing needed; and next to understanding, the will to guide. The gift of independence to Egypt is the first step taken

in the right direction; and, as soon as may be, this step must be followed by the gift of independence to the Islamic communities of Asia Minor, Persia, Turkestan, and, perhaps, India. It is perfectly true that, in all probability, the dreams entertained by pan-Islam, pan-Turanianism, and pan-Arabism will prove to be Arabian Nights dreams, and nothing more. Being an elemental faith, incapable of self-criticism; being, in fact, only a criticism of another faith, Islam scarcely contains within itself the possibilities of actualizing the expressed political and cultural aspirations of its adherents. But, without abandoning Islam to its own devices in the spirit of distrust, it is, nevertheless incumbent on Europe to remove from Islam every ground of just complaint and, at the same time, to offer to the Islamic communities every aid within Europe's power. That is the duty Europe owes to the manifestation of the criticism which the world-spirit has directed against her; that must be the first response of the conscious to the unconscious. There remains, however, a duty even greater than that of understanding and guiding Islam: it is that of synthesizing Europe. In the economy of the world-process, actions have their reactions, defects have their compensations, and 'heresies' of the spirit have their counterheresies. The 'failure' of the white race is instantly begun to be 'compensated' by the rise of another race; the world is one. And it follows as a 'law' that, no sooner is the heresy amended in the original 'sinner,' by 'repentance' and 'good works,' than the counterheresy it engendered begins to disappear, its services have been discharged. The synthesis of Europe would speedily be followed by the disappearance of Islam as an independent force. Its virtue as an affirmation of Unity would have been 'sublimated' in the consciousness of a Christian Europe made whole again."

The Turki People of Chinese Turkestan

A brief description of these people is found in the *Chinese Recorder*, August, 1920. They number over one and a half million, differ entirely in dress from their Chinese neighbours and are generally known as Turki Sarts. "The Sarts by religion," says Mr. G. W. Hunter, "are Mohammedans of a very bigoted type, although of late years a small percentage of them are inclined to be open and progressive, yet the vast majority live in Mohammedan bigotry and darkness. Their mode of living does not differ very much from Mohammedans in general, though they still retain some of their ancient customs, such as the worshiping of *mazars*. These *mazars* are the supposed graves of their ancient kings, great men, or mythical saints, and resemble the Mongol *obo*. The Sarts are very fond of a game called *ughlak*. The game is played by a number of men on horseback, the riders trying to snatch the body of a kid from one another; sometimes as a special test of strength the body of a calf is used instead of a kid.

"Differing from the Chinese Mohammedans, but like the Qazaqs and Kirghiz, the Sarts eat the flesh of horses, and one may sometimes see on the Yarkand bazaar horseflesh for sale, with a yak's tail hung over it. The Sarts are fond of drum beating and dancing, and at their marriages and festivals the monotonous drumming goes on for hours at a stretch. Both men and women use a preparation of tobacco and lime, which is moistened and rolled into small pills; these are placed between the lip and teeth of the lower jaw. This preparation has an offensive smell

and blackens and rots the teeth. Many are also addicted to the smoking of *bang*, a drug made from hemp, the continued use of which seems quite as degrading as the opium habit. The Sarts take full advantage of the lax Mohammedan laws regarding marriage, so the divorces are very common and consequently this and other things lead to extreme immorality. Like other Mohammedans the Turki women are supposed to be veiled in public, but this custom is lightly regarded in Eastern Turk-estan; in the west, however, we have seen the Turki priests with whips, beating the women who have ventured to appear unveiled upon the bazaar."

What Is It the Moslems Want?

The following is a summarized translation from the *Echo de l'Islam* (Paris, Oct. 20) dealing with the unrest in Turkey, which is attributed to the Sevres Treaty. The article is signed by Ali Bayrak. He states that the injuries suffered by Turkey are felt and resented in all the Mohammedan world, for they appreciate the fact that in Turkey they lose the most vital defender of their faith. The Moslem world, with the exception of a certain unimportant number, who are mainly in the pay of the English, see the necessity for the upholding of the Ottoman Caliphate. He goes on to say that even the Arab tribes, who under the dominion of the Turks were in constant revolt against the authority of Constantinople, are now ranging themselves on the side of the Caliphate. India and Central Asia are aroused; Egypt rejects the proposals of the Milner Commission; Mesopotamia is in revolt; Kurdistan will accept no government other than that of the Sultan; Asia Minor is all against European Imperialism. In face of all this one can scarcely regard such a movement as factitious or superficial. With regard to their grievances the writer says: "What the propaganda of the Young Turk Movement had failed to attain, the Greeks—in his opinion the last nation in the world to whom such concessions should have been made—have been able to carry through." He points out in proof the presence of the Greeks in Asia Minor and especially Smyrna, which since the earliest periods of history have been the inviolable home of the Asiatic races. The occupation of Adrianople—the Holy City—regarded as the last fortress of the Khaliphate; the fact that the Sultan Khalif is to all intents a prisoner, while the heir apparent is literally confined to his palace, where he is ever watched; all this has resulted in binding together more firmly than ever Moslem interests and concentrating all the hatred of the East toward the West.

Although still in its youth he is very hopeful of the success of the Pan-Islamic movement and he warns us that the day will come when the world will be forced to acknowledge its strength. The seed is sown, "*le temps fera desormais son oeuvre.*"

He pleads that the Moslems are not asking for anything that is contrary to the principles and ideals which the Entente Powers have called forth and have themselves inspired, since it was these very ideals that the Moslems have fought for during the last fifty years all over the world and especially during the recent war. They say: You have promised that you would not touch our Khalifate and the Khalif is today a prisoner of your troops in Constantinople. You have promised to respect our sacred places; but Mecca, Medina and Kerbala, which should be under the protection of the Khalif—the Servant of the Holy Places—

have been placed under the government of your paid creatures. The Europeans would have been none the worse for allowing these holy cities to be under the direct government of the Khalif, nor would they have menaced the security and advantages of those provinces which the Europeans have seized for themselves out of the Ottoman Empire. The Moslem conception of the Khalif, the writer points out, is different from that of the Christian conception of the Pope, for the Khalif is not regarded as spiritual priest alone, but also as earthly king and as long as the Europeans do not appreciate this distinction there can be no peace between Moslem and Christian.

Unhappy Islam, Ali Bayrak cries, forced back to its last resources, threatened in its very cradle and its holy sanctuaries, defends its rights and will go on doing so; and it will be a shame after all the concessions it has made to Europe if the last vestiges of its independence incarnated in its Sultan-Khalif of Stamboul are taken away.

It would be well if Europe's chancelleries would give as much consideration to these pleas as they do to the reports of their young men, who are by no means infallible, and to the decisions of their old men, who look at today's problems through the spectacles of six years ago.

The Holy Carpet

A correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian* gives an account of the ceremony held in connection with the Annual Departure of the so-called Holy Carpet from Cairo. He says:

"The fabrics are of three orders. Most important of all, in the center of the hall, guarded by Egyptian sentries with fixed bayonets and illuminated by four enormous candles in candlesticks, each of full human height, stand the elaborate embroideries which are to cover the tomb of the Prophet at Medina. Round the surrounding walls are draped the plainer curtains of woven black which are to be suspended round the walls of the Ka'aba at Mecca. And in a separate hall the crowd throngs round the gorgeously embroidered '*Mahmal*,' its motive colors red silk and gold thread, which is in form and purpose a species of '*howdah*' hung round a wooden frame and carried, empty save for a copy of the Koran, at the head of the great caravan of pilgrims by a finely caparisoned camel.

"The night of the '*Kisweh*' is marked merely by the passive spectacle above described. The Cairo crowd walks round, listens to the band, chatters in criticism or admiration, and goes home to bed. The second act of the drama takes place on the following morning, when the '*Mahmal*' and its attendant tapestries are carried in procession round the vast open space below the Citadel, where the Manchester Regiment held its last melancholy muster before marching from Cairo to its fatal landing at Gallipoli. On this occasion the display is one of much more vivid life and color. The great sandy square is enclosed by Egyptian troops. At one end the Lancers are extended in line; behind them the guns which fire the ceremonial salute. Another side is lined by infantry, and opposite them stands the gaily decorated pavilion reserved for the Sultan's representative, the Ministers of State, and the grandees and sheikhs from the Mosque of Azhar, the latter, perhaps, the most picturesque sight of all, in their elaborately colored robes and white turbans, instinct with the dignity of Doctors of Islam. On the fourth side

is the carriage enclosure where European ladies and visitors may stand on their vehicles to watch the ceremony. The salute is fired, and a sudden burst of music from the band proclaims that the procession has started. At its head comes the beast that carries the '*Mahmal*,' his head and flanks covered with brocaded red and gold, led by long tasselled cords of gold braid. For the rest of his existence the camel that carries the '*Mahmal*' will do no work, but merely grow idly fat at the State's expense."

A Chinese View of Mohammed's Marriages

In a paper read before The North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society at Shanghai, by Mr. Isaac Mason, on the life of Mohammed according to Chinese sources, we find evidence that the records have been modified to suit Chinese ethics:

"Soon after Khadija's death, Mohammed married Sauda, and was betrothed to Ayesha. Our author says that the believers pressed the Prophet to take a wife, lest he should leave them and go away. They offered wealthy and honorable ladies, but Mohammed declined them saying that as he had a rich wife before, it would now conduce to his virtue to have someone who was very poor, so he chose Sauda.

"Ayesha was the daughter of the Prophet's life-long friend and stalwart disciple Abu Bekr; she was only six years old at the time of her betrothal. It is said that both Abu Bekr and the child urged the match, but it is also probable that Mohammed adopted this means of binding to him the father, though it must be acknowledged that he was devotedly attached to Ayesha. The marriage took place when the girl was nine years old, and she was the only virgin bride among the eleven wives of Mohammed, the others all having been married before. In the Chinese history most of the brides are spoken of as virgins of special beauty and virtue, who had refused all offers of marriage, being reserved for the Prophet. Although the names of eleven wives are given, yet it is repeatedly stated that the Prophet had nine wives, according to divine command; as Khadija died before the polygamy commenced, and one other died after being married but a short time, the Prophet did not actually have more than nine wives at one time. Our history credits him with seven concubines also. The subject is discussed in a note as follows:

"If anyone asks if it was really the case that the Prophet had nine wives and seven concubines, we answer, certainly; and if it be questioned why did he need so many, we reply, on purpose to prove the completeness of his standing as the highest Prophet and to demonstrate that the pure brightness of the Prophet could stand searching examination, and nothing could obscure it. Our Prophet, having been up to the ninth heaven, did not regard even the heavens as wonderful, and so to have nine wives and seven concubines and not have his virtue interfered with by ordinary passion, was not regarded as extraordinary, seeing that he was the Prophet. It may be said that as the Prophet was daily occupied with exhorting men and at nights with exhorting spirits, he would have no time to give to his wives or to domestic affairs, so was it not useless to have so many wives? It may be answered that the Prophet was a holy man, and the wives and concubines were excellent women, and they all considered it their chief duty to assist virtue in bringing about transformation; how then could they give much attention to marital or domestic affairs? Moreover there is an important principle

contained in this matter which must not be overlooked; the nine wives were a symbol of the nine heavens, and the seven concubines were a symbol of the seven earths. Ordinary men live between heaven and earth, and who is there that is not allured by heaven and earth? The Prophet was superior and could not be enticed by his nine wives and seven concubines, which was a symbol that he could not be illured by the nine heavens and the seven earths.' In a passage subsequent to the foregoing, we are told that Mohammed declined the offer of another lady, on the plea that he had been commanded that nine was the full complement allowed him!"

Is the Pilgrimage Legal under Present Conditions?

The Reverend Ahmed Shah of Cawnpore answers this question in the negative as follows: "This year's *hajj* according to Islamic law is not lawful but *sâqit* (*i. e.*, degraded,) because the Kaaba is in the custody of a Moslem king who has allowed certain things in the vicinity of the Kaaba which are unlawful according to Moslem law.

"For instance, (1) he allowed non-Moslems to enter those towns to which entrance is forbidden to any but Moslems; (2) he allowed some unlawful food to be consumed by British troops: *e. g.*, wines, beer, bacon, etc.; (3) above all he made alliance with the enemies of Islam. Had the king who allowed these things been a non-Moslem the *hajj* would have been lawful; as it was, the monarch was a Moslem, and as such he acted against Moslem law, therefore the right thing for a Moslem is to perform no *hajj* under his régime."

Turkish Women and the Stage

A decree has gone forth that no Moslem women shall appear on the theatrical stage. It appears that so far there has been but one Turkish actress that has made a public appearance; but that is enough to rouse conservative opposition and bring out this official prohibition. Such action rouses the following protest in the *Stamboul* by the famous Turkish actor, Burhaneddin, director of a Turkish company: "I have read with great interest in the *Stamboul* the brief paragraph about Moslem women on the stage. Your paper, which has never ceased raising its voice in favor of all measures to raise the moral tone of this poor country, but alas! without securing a hearing, deserves today the thanks of the community for its attitude on this subject. I have twelve Moslem young ladies as pupils, belonging in some cases to well-to-do families, in others to those with moderate means; and these young ladies have much talent. I am proud to have pointed the way to the stage to the youth of the country by entering it myself, even at great sacrifice, against the wishes of my parents, and the calumny and prejudice of the public. I shall strive to the end for this new purpose. Woman ought to show her talent in playing. Public opinion favors it; I can prove this any time. The authorities grant permits to women to lead a loose life, and these are even countersigned by physicians of the public health administration. Under such circumstances, I do not see how they can refuse to art what they allow to vice. The Moslem women who see their coreligionists from Russia who are now refugees here, serving like their Christian compatriots in restaurants and elsewhere, have hard work to understand this prohibition. The Turkish woman of Constantinople is in general more

advanced than her fellow-Turks of the male sex; and she must be allowed self-expression."—*The Orient*.

Mohammed's Sinlessness

In a recent number of *The Epiphany* a young Moslem, Abdul Hakim Mirza from Cachar, writes:

"The repentance of Mohammed cannot make one doubt his being the only Intercessor in the day of judgment. The Safar Namah of Nasir Khusran tells us that in the mausoleum built by Solomon over the tomb of his father there are two doors, one called *Bab-ur-Rahmat* (the gate of mercy) and the other *Bab-ut-Tauba* (the gate of repentance), where God, the exalted and glorious, accepted the repentance of David, the first of the four prophets who obtained holy books from God at different times and of whom Mohammed Mustafa (the chosen) was the last.

"Again, by the honour of Mohammed, and his holy descendants Adam's remorseful prayer was granted by God though He sent Adam and Eve from heaven to the earth for some sin and Adam became the foremost prophet on account of his penitence.

"Now, it is admitted that Mohammed was subject to errors as he was no divine being and that he repented many times. And no wonder, a pious man is always penitent, whether or not he does anything wrong consciously or unconsciously. But who can say that God Himself will repeatedly ask an ordinary man to be repentant for his misdoings? It was Mohammed—that extraordinary man, whom God repeatedly commanded to be penitent for the slightest offence he might commit. It was that last prophet of God who, as told of in his biography, was endowed in the same proportion with all good qualities.

"That Mohammed is the only Intercessor is attested by the fact that God sent a well-known angel named Gabrail with the Koran to invite Mohammed who was then a man of forty, to meet God in heaven and to tell him (Mohammed) that the soul of one who will not obey the Alcoran and Mohammed, the last prophet and the only friend of God, must be consigned to perdition.

"Mohammed was no God, nor was he any incarnate form of God; he was but a man having been born of human beings, and as such he might commit errors, for 'to err is human.'

"But God Himself told him repeatedly to ask pardon for his errors. How mysteriously wonderful it is! Again, by repenting for his errors during his lifetime, he could amend his life. Hence it is safely concluded that Mohammed the only friend of God, the only prophet who was invited so respectfully by God Himself, the last prophet, whose frequent repinings must have effected his amendment of life and who is ultimately so pure and sinless, must be the only Intercessor in the day of judgment."

"The Holy War" in Hausa

The Religious Tract Society have just published, at the request of the S. U. M., an edition of Bunyan's "Holy War" in Hausa, from a translation by Mr. J. Lowry Maxwell, Superintendent of the Sudan United Mission Training Institute at Wukari. This should prove a welcome addition to the growing library of good literature in Hausa, and in so generously providing this volume the R. T. S. has added one more to its many helpful undertakings on behalf of the missionary cause.

THE MOSLEM WORLD

The Atonement

we can preach the Gospel to Moslems only when we follow and understand their difficulties. The weekly paper published by members of the Oxford Mission, Calcutta, called *The Epiphany*, affords its readers an open forum for the discussion of these matters. Here is the way a Moslem from Poona expresses his difficulties on the Atonement. We do not think it necessary to publish the reply:

"It is a pity to know that an innocent man is put to death for the sake of others. If Christ had offered His blood of His own accord in order to save mankind, even then God's justice would have demanded that a poor innocent man should not be hanged or crucified; for instance, an exemplary punishment meted out to a thief is mercy to society, because it contributes to the public safety.

"The judicial courts of our modern times do not convict a man of murder simply on his pleading 'guilty' unless there is sufficient circumstantial evidence to establish the fact that the offence has been committed by him. How can we believe then that our temporal tribunals of the present day are more judicious than the court of the Almighty, whose sense of justice falls short of the ordinary standard of human civilization? But Jesus Christ did not even offer His life voluntarily, because in the Bible we have (a) 'Then saith he unto them, my soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.' (b) 'And he went a little farther and fell on his face, and prayed saying, O my Father, if it be possible let this cup pass from me.' (c) 'He went away again the second time and prayed saying, O my Father, if this cup may not pass away from me, except I drink it, thy will be done.' These quotations speak for themselves. They clearly show that Jesus Christ did not drink 'the cup' willingly; rather it was forced upon Him and that He prayed to avoid it. Again we have (d) 'And about the ninth hour, Jesus cried with a loud voice, saying, *Eli, Eli, lama sabachthani*; that is to say, My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?"

"This is clear testimony to the fact that Jesus did not wish to die for others, rather He interpreted this death in the light that God had forsaken Him. Had He any idea that He was dying for the salvation of mankind, He would never have cried like this.

"Again, if the crucifixion of Jesus Christ was brought about by mercy, the only inevitable conclusion is that God never showed mercy to His creatures before this particular event took place."

The Moslem Calendar

The Rev. Ahmad Shah of India is contributing a series of interesting notes on the "Moslem Calendar" to one of our exchanges. He describes the various feasts and festivals as observed in India. The following account of the sacrifice made on the Great Feast gives details that are not generally known:

"Seven men can participate in the purchase of a camel, cow or buffalo. The intention of sharing the cost of an animal should be declared prior to and not after the purchase of the animal, as the sacrifice in the latter event would not be acceptable. A five year old camel, two year old cow or buffalo, a one year old goat or sheep, or a six month old fat tailed sheep which could pass for a one year old when seen from a distance, can be used for a sacrifice. It is invalid to sacrifice younger animals

than these. It is best to sacrifice with one's own hands. Provided the sacrifice cannot be performed by one's self, it is incumbent to permit another man to do so and it is essential (*Sunnat*) to have the animal slaughtered in one's own presence. No thirsty or hungry animal should be sacrificed, neither should the knife be sharpened before it, nor should one animal be sacrificed in view of another. It should not be skinned till it is cold, nor should any of its limbs be amputated or broken. It is advisable to repeat a certain prayer before the sacrifice. The animal should then be placed on its left side facing the Kaaba and the right foot should be placed on its shoulder. After repeating *Allahu Akbar*, it should be despatched quickly with a sharp knife. But the blow should not be so heavy as to reach through to the back of the neck. The person who holds the animal would do well to continue repeating the *Takbir*. It is necessary to divide the meat into three equal parts, two shares to be kept for one's self and one's relatives and friends, and the remaining third to be given to the *faqirs*, though there is absolutely no harm if the whole is eaten up or distributed to the *faqirs*. It is better to give the share of the *faqirs* by weight, otherwise care should be taken to see that it is not less than one-third. A person who is not well-off is not bound to offer sacrifice, but the purchase of an animal with a view to sacrifice makes it binding that that same animal should be sacrificed. The case is different with a man who is well-off, for he is bound to sacrifice on his own account, though he need not sacrifice the very same animal which he has bought. He is at perfect liberty to sacrifice the animal purchased or some substitute. It is better should he offer a substitute, that it be superior to the first.

"It is allowable to use the skin for one's own self or in place of it to purchase a praying carpet or some other utensils. It is also permissible for the skin to be dedicated to some mosque, or school, or coffin fund, etc., so that the managers may utilize the money accruing from the sale thereof for charitable purposes. But the selling of the skin for one's own self is unlawful. Nor should this money be spent on the construction of a school or a *masjid*, but if dedicated to the poor the pledge is binding. When it is sold with the intention of satisfying some selfish personal interest, it is culpable sin; moreover such money is a pollution to one's self and ransom is the only sufficient penance for such pollution. As it is unlawful to use on one's self the money realised from the sale of the skin, so, too, it is unlawful to meet the cost of sacrifice or the charges of the butcher from such money."

The Franchise in Algeria

By a law passed on February 4, 1919, France introduced political reforms in Algeria, including a wide franchise for the native population. In a letter addressed to *Le Temps* by Professor Bernard Lavergne, University of Algiers, we read:

"Thus nine-tenths of the younger generation of Mussulmans will acquire French citizenship as soon as ever the idea enters their head to ask for it. In our opinion the liberality of these dispositions, granting the rights of French citizenship to elements far too undependable and very ill prepared to receive it, is excessive; but making all due reservations on this point, let us admit that the Mussulman population has so far made no use whatever of these new opportunities. The law has been

in force for a year, and of the 50,000 Arabs, or Kabyles, of the town of Algiers, for instance, not a single one has as yet asked to be admitted to French rights. Thus have been realised the prophecies—or shall we rather say the wishes—of those members who voted, and of those ministers who submitted, the law of 1919 in the chamber.

“The Mussulman population does not care to acquire French political status; for it has no wish to buy it at the price very logically put upon it, namely, the surrender of private customs and private usage. Polygamy, extreme ease of divorce, special laws of succession (women only inheriting half as much as men and eldest sons receiving most often three-fourths of the father’s estate), these are so engrained in the Mussulman soul that any renunciation of them would seem impossible to practically the whole of the native population. It is our clear duty and interest to respect these sentiments. We are bound to be as sympathetic to all naturalization which entails a true adhesion to French manners and to French modes of thought, as we are bound to be indifferent to the same process where it is merely formal and external.”

A Quaker Martyr in Arabia

The following note is found in the magazine of the Friends’ *Workers at Home and Abroad*:

“Few Friends, if any, in England are aware that there is a lonely Quaker grave in Arabia. It is the resting-place of an American Friend named Camp, who entered the country as a missionary and died there as a result of disease and persecution. This is his story: He attended in California a conference of an interdenominational mission with stations in Jerusalem and Hebron, and was attracted by their work. Actually an independent missionary, he was in association with the Christian and Missionary Alliance. On his first arrival in Palestine he naturally visited the Friends’ Mission at Ramallah, and was in close touch with our Friends there.

“For a time he worked in Hebron. This town was then (about 1906) notorious for the bigotry of its people, both Jews and Moslems. Camp was often opposed by the inhabitants, and on one occasion was struck in the face in the street by an intolerant Jew. He literally turned the other cheek, and bore a second blow without complaint. This witness for Christ was more effective than any of his words. Another Jew standing by exclaimed, ‘If his religion can produce that result, that is the kind of religion I want!’ This spectator became first an inquirer, and eventually the first declared convert recorded by the Christian and Missionary Alliance in Hebron.

“Later, Camp resolved to enter the almost unoccupied field of Arabia, and with three other missionaries proceeded southwards, though all well knew that, humanly speaking, they were throwing away their lives. They succeeded in reaching Sona, where they lived for a time, but from there they were driven out cruelly and exiled to Hudeidah. There Camp died of the ill-treatment he had received, and there is his grave. His companions got safely back to Palestine.

“May not the name of Camp be recorded on the honor roll of the Society of Friends among those who have risked all, lost all, and gained all, for the sake of Christ?—*G. C. N.*”

The Egyptian University at Cairo

The Report of H. M. High Commissioner on the finances, administration and condition of Egypt and the Sudan for the period 1914 to 1919 has just been issued. In the section on education we read:

"Educational developments have now reached a stage which makes it possible, and very desirable, to consider as a practical question the establishment of a State university. The existing colleges furnish no opportunity for students, after completing their secondary course, to secure a liberal education apart from a professional career; the complete separation of the courses makes the present organization of higher education inelastic, leaving little opportunity for optional studies or for different combinations of courses, and insufficient provision and incentive exist for post-graduate studies or original research. In short, the present organization insufficiently sets forth high ideals, has developed no academic traditions, and is too exclusively utilitarian. It tends to foster the belief that the obtaining of a diploma is the one and only purpose to be kept in view, and fails to evoke the true spirit of culture—the pursuit of learning for its own sake.

"While there is need for the expansion of the existing professional colleges, an effort should be made at the same time to meet the requirements of those. who wish to pursue a higher course of study for the sake of general culture, without reference to any particular profession or career. Further, the long and varied history of Egypt, as well as its geographical situation and its position in the Moslem world, clearly point to the appropriateness of Cairo as a seat for a college of Oriental studies. At present Egypt, in spite of incomparable advantages, provides no opportunities (such as exist in the most important European universities) for acquiring a literary knowledge of the languages that are cognate with Arabic and of the comparative philology of the Semitic languages, or of the languages of ancient Egypt, or for the investigation of the many literary, archæological, historical and philosophical questions on which these studies throw light. The time has come for the creation of higher courses of study of the true university type.

"A commission was appointed by Sir Adly Yeghen Pasha in 1917 to consider this question. In 1918 it presented a preliminary report, but no effective steps were taken thereupon. The question is now being pressed forward with a view to early effect being given to the proposals."

Mohammedans in the United States

In the thirtieth Annual Report of the Chicago Tract Society, we read as follows:

"For many years past, through Syrian and Armenian speaking missionaries, the Chicago Tract Society has come in frequent contact with Mohammedan immigrants; they have come to America for the most part from Turkey, but some are from Arabia and some from North India. A year ago our Society made an effort to locate the principal Mohammedan groups and to get reliable and definite information that could be given out regarding Mohammedanism in America; and while we have been able to locate the colonies in some of our larger cities and particularly along the western shore of Lake Michigan between Gary on the south and Green Bay on the north, and in Worcester, Peabody, and

Lynn, Mass., we have not been able to get the facts which we need. Dr. Henry K. Carroll writes:

"I beg to say that I have no detailed information concerning the number of Mohammedans in this country, nor where they are located. I would suggest that you write to the Director of the United States Census, Washington, D. C. If you get any information I should be very glad if you would share it with me."

"In reply to the letter which we addressed to the Bureau of the Census we received from the Director the following:

"There have been various efforts to learn the number of Mohammedans in the United States, but so far without any satisfactory results. Of course there are Mohammedans from North India as well as from Arabia and Turkey. The term "Turkish" is not necessarily synonymous with "Mohammedan," as many people are called Turkish who are Christian, Syrian, Armenian, etc."

"The Albanian Mohammedans of the United States have their headquarters at Waterbury, Conn. In reply to a letter which we addressed to the president of their organization we received the following exceedingly polite but non-communicative reply. We inquired regarding the number of the Mohammedan people, and the location of their mosques, or places of worship, and their publications, and also as to what proportion of them had come here from Turkey, Arabia and Egypt. In our stamped return envelope the reply came in the Albanian language, which was translated by one of our missionaries as follows:

"ALBANIAN MOHAMMEDAN RELIGIOUS SOCIETY

"Waterbury, Conn., July 25, 1919.

"My Dear Mr. Secretary:

"With honorable admiration I have received your honorable letter which you have the kindness to address to me.

"The Mohammedan Albanian Society, of which I have the honor of being the head, does not have any ties or coöperation with any other nationalities which you mention. Furthermore, it is not possible to know the whole number of Mohammedans who are living under the Flag of the United States of America. I therefore beg you to excuse me for not giving you the required information concerning the prayer places and the number of followers. I can give you but very limited information as to the number of Albanian Mohammedans that live in this country. I can inform you very little about other things which concern our Society.

"Not having had a chance, unfortunately I have been unable to study the sweet language of this country, i. e., the English language, and this is the reason I am forced to write to you in the language which I know, for which I beg you to excuse me.

Yours truly,

"PRESIDENT SABRI A. KORCHA."

BOOK REVIEWS

The Diwan of Dhu 'r-Rummah. By C. H. H. Macartney. Cambridge University Press, London; pp. 676+xl. £5.5.0. net.

This large volume of some eighty-seven poems—beside isolated verses—represents both scholarship and hard work. But it needs a literary non-technical introduction to inform the reader—even the student—who *was* the man nicknamed “He-of-the-rotten-rope,” and what were the chief characteristics of his style.

His name was Ghailân ibn 'Uqbah, and as he died in 117 A. H., he was clearly an “Islamic” poet, in fact, of the *Omeiyad* (or, as it is written in Arabic, the *Amawi*) period. Being contemporary with the much better-known Jarir and Farazdaq he sided with one against the other when their mutual vituperation went too far! Zaidan, in his splendid four-volume “History of Arabic Literature” says that twenty odd poets (of that age) were *Ghazaliyun*, i. e. writers of erotic verse; five of these were of *Quraish*, and Ghailân is placed last but one of the others. In fact, some of his admirers in the subsequent generation called him “the last of the poets.” Alas, we are afraid that poetical obscurity did not die with him! But he was one of the last to specialize upon the old metres; it is interesting to count the large number of poems in which he uses the *basît* and the *tawîl* metres. The author of *Tabaqat-us-Shu'ara'* places Ghailân in the second (not the first) class of writers of his period.

He had some outstanding points: firstly, he was a born plagiarist (not the only son of that family!); he was justly praised for his use of metaphor; and, finally, he owed most of his fame to the use of “crack-jaw” words never heard before or since. As a practical demonstration of his “difficult style” (referred to by Nicholson) we tried several verses upon our Azharite literary helper, of which he understood not one!

Mr. Macartney's edition is, however, a scholarly piece of work, with one or two minor exceptions. There are copious and reliable indices; the interpolations explaining the meaning of almost every verse are very necessary; the name of the *bahr* (metre) at the head of each poem is decidedly useful; and the excellent printing is noted for its absence of broken vowel-points, a standard very difficult to attain.

But how long has Cambridge been a college (*kullîya*) instead of an university (*jami'â*)? And why cannot the *ya* be vowelled to distinguish it from *alif maqsûra*?

To sum up, this prodigious work is well edited and well produced but—from the utilitarian viewpoint of a *practical* Arabic writer—why not have let Dhu 'r-Rummah rest in his own obscurity? *Requiescat in pace!*

ARTHUR T. UPSON.

The Quatrains of Omar Khayyam. A New Translation by O. A. Shrubsole. London: E. Marlborough & Co., 1920.

A new translation with a new arrangement of the Quatrains and far more complete than the well-known version by Fitzgerald. The Bodleian

MSS. contains 158 Quatrains, that at Cambridge 801, Fitzgerald gave his paraphrase of only 100; this book gives 346. Inferior as poetry, it is more literal in its rendering. For example the famous lines about life's Checkerboard:

"Life seems like a chess-play to me;
The heavens are playing the game;
They move us; but nothing we see;
And then we depart as we came."

The notes are of little value and contain two ridiculous misstatements regarding the Black Stone and the number of Moslem prophets.

S. M. Z.

Deutschland und Armenien, 1914-1918. Dr. Johannes Lepsius. lxxx and 541 pp. Potsdam: Pempelverlag, 1919.

This careful compilation contains the details and documentary evidence on which Dr. Lepsius' article *The Armenian Question* in our October number is based. The bulk of the book consists of extracts from official documents to which Dr. Lepsius was given access at the end of 1918 by the Secretary of State, Dr. Solf. They cover six years from 1913 to 1918, and are followed by a short appendix with useful indices. The practically striking part of the book is its introduction of seventy-two pages sketching stage by stage the deportation of the Armenian nation, through which the Committee of Union and Progress sought to obliterate the Armenian nationality and religion and, as far as necessary, the Armenians themselves. The last chapter of the introduction discusses the character of the events, including the part played by Germans in protesting against or limiting the massacres, and the motive behind the Turkish action. There is no doubt that public feeling in Germany was greatly distressed by the Armenian policy of its rulers and ally. How far their government can be absolved from the crime of neglect, further research may show more clearly. For such investigation Dr. Lepsius' able work will long be an indispensable starting point.

H. U. W. STANTON.

Reminiscences of Daniel Bliss, Missionary and Educator. Edited and supplemented by his eldest son. Illustrated, pp. 256. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York \$2.00.

A most interesting account of the life and work of a most interesting personality. No man has done more for the promotion of higher education in the Near East than Dr. Daniel Bliss, the founder of the Syrian Protestant College (now the American University) of Beirut, Syria.

Dr. Bliss was born on the 17th of August, 1823, in Georgia, Vermont, and spent his early years on the farm and in a tannery. In both occupations he showed that devotion to duty which characterised him all his life. After struggling against odds, he succeeded in entering Amherst College at the age of 25, and after graduation he entered Andover Seminary. In December, 1855, he went out with his wife in a three hundred ton sailing vessel to Syria as a missionary under the American Board for Foreign Missions.

The first few years of his missionary life were spent by Dr. Bliss in different places on Mount Lebanon studying Arabic, teaching and preaching. He worked hard during and after the Civil War of 1860 in the Lebanons in alleviating the sufferings of the people. In 1862 the

American missionaries in Syria proposed to their Board the foundation of an institution for higher education and recommended him as principal. The proposal was approved, and he traveled extensively in England and America collecting funds. Finally the College opened its doors in 1866 with sixteen students "in four or five rooms of an insignificant building." The work thus begun on a small scale grew steadily, and before his death the founder had the satisfaction of seeing the University housed in twenty-six buildings in a forty-acre campus on the slope of a hill facing the sea. Its students had increased to about a thousand with a staff of teachers and secretaries numbering close to a hundred divided among eight departments. The students came from all the countries of the Near East, even from Persia and India, and its graduates are scattered "from Russia to the Sudan and from the Philippine Islands to the Pillars of Hercules." He resigned the presidency in 1902, but remained President Emeritus, taking active interest in the work till his death in 1916 at the age of 93 years.

A word about the spirit of the college which is the monument to Dr. Bliss' life work in the Near East. In his address on the laying of the corner stone of the main building Dr. Bliss said:

"This college is for all conditions and classes of men without regard to color, nationality, race or religion. A man, white, black or yellow, Christian, Jew, Mohammedan or heathen, may enter and enjoy all the advantages of this institution for three, four or eight years, and go out believing in one God, in many gods or in no god. But it will be impossible for any one to continue with us long without knowing what we believe to be the truth, and our reasons for that belief."

In dealing with the students Dr. Bliss showed a great insight into human nature. He trusted them, and as some of them said, "We cannot lie to Dr. Bliss because he trusts us." He obtained far better results by appealing to all that is noble in their nature than by having recourse to disciplinary measures. The following stories speak for themselves. They were related by the students concerned:

There was a regulation against smoking in the rooms. One night in November I was studying very late in my fourth story room, and supposing the authorities were all in bed, I was smoking a cigarette, which when half finished I chucked out of the window. In a few minutes came a knock at the door. "Come in," I called. The door slowly opened. Instead of some fellow student, there stood the President, and the room full of smoke! "Good evening," he said, with his usual air of dignified politeness. "Have you studied astronomy?" "Ye—e—es, sir," I stammered. "Then perhaps you can tell me whether this is one of the nights when we may expect meteors falling through the air." "I—I—I don't remember," I said. "Ah," he said, "I thought perhaps you could. Good-night." That was all, but there was no more smoking in that room, at least.

A graduate, now resident in Egypt, tells of a visit he once made to the Cedars of Lebanon, years after leaving college. There to his joy he found his old President who told him of the many improvements, among which was the enclosing of the campus with a wall. "Should you want to come back from town after ten at night, *now*," said Dr. Bliss, "you would have to jump over the wall." The graduate was aghast. He had had the habit of staying overtime in the company of literary and artistic friends in the city, but supposed that this breach of the rules had never been known to the authorities. So now he started and blushed. The President smiled affectionately and said, "Did you suppose I did not know that you came in late? *But I knew where you had been.*"

Too much tact and diplomacy cannot be shown in running a university in a strange land under a suspicious government, amidst a popu-

lation part of which is unfriendly and with hundreds of students of different races and creeds, many of them at daggers drawn. But the fact that Dr. Daniel Bliss and his successor were able to steer their ship safely and with the minimum of friction speaks volumes for their inborn diplomacy. This diplomacy showed itself at its best during the Great War when the University continued its activities as usual with about a thousand souls to feed and to provide for and that at a time when the people of Syria were starving. But this Herculean work cost Dr. Howard Bliss his life in spite of his strong constitution which made his friends hope that he would live as long as his father.

In the opinion of the reviewer, who as one of Dr. Daniel Bliss's students is well acquainted with his work, the biography under review is too short to contain the principal events of an eventful life covering almost a century. The biographer could, for the benefit of founders of colleges and of teachers, have dwelt more at length on Dr. Bliss's experiences and on the solution which he gave to the many complex problems—material and moral—which came up before him during his long tenure of office.

NESSIM BIRBARI.

In Morocco. By Edith Wharton. Illustrated. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1920; pp. 290. 20/-.

This book of travel, written in the fascinating style of the pen of an artist and abounding in illustrations, is one to be set in a class by itself. The author was fortunate in visiting Morocco before the close of the war and has given us far more than a guide book to the beaten paths of the future tourist. Not until last year has Morocco been open to travel from Tangier to the Great Atlas. Three years ago Christians were being massacred in the streets of Salé, and even two years ago no European was allowed to enter the sacred city of Moulay-Idriss.

The author enjoyed the friendship of General Lyautey, the Governor, and she pays a high tribute to the work of the French under his direction. This clear-sighted administrator had a genuine sympathy for the people and not only saved Morocco for the French but from anarchy. The record of economic development and pacification is called a miracle.

Four chapters are descriptive of cities and ruins, including Fez and Marrakesh; one deals with the life of the people, while the last three deal with politics, history and architecture. A paragraph will give the reader an illustration of the author's style and insight:

"The whole civilian Moslem architecture from Persia to Morocco is based on four unchanging conditions: a hot climate, slavery, polygamy and the segregation of women. The private house in Mahometan countries is in fact a fortress, a convent and a temple: a temple of which the god (as in all ancient religions) frequently descends to visit his cloistered votaresses. For where slavery and polygamy exist every house master is necessarily a god, and the house he inhabits a shrine built about his divinity."

These "divinities" are also described. Here is a pen portrait of Moulay-Ismaïl; after describing his features at the age of eighty-seven, she goes on to say: "Such was the appearance of this extraordinary man, who deceived, tortured, betrayed, assassinated, terrorized and mocked his slaves, his subjects, his women and children and his ministers like any other half savage Arab despot, but who yet managed through his

long reign to maintain a barbarous empire, to police the wilderness, and give at least an appearance of prosperity and security where all had before been chaos."

The illustrations are numerous and exceptionally beautiful, which cannot be said, however, of the map.

S. M. Z.

A Moslem Seeker After God. By Samuel M. Zwemer, D.D. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York, 1920; pp. 302. \$2.25.

As a result of Sherwood Eddy's recent visit to the Near East missionaries and Christian workers are feeling with newly awakened force what had theoretically always been clear enough, that the Christian approach to the Moslem is not through attack and controversy but through sympathy and understanding, and that the point of contact is not where the Christian way parts from the Moslem way, but where they agree and for a time continue together. To every missionary with this point of view Dr. Zwemer's new book, "A Moslem Seeker After God," will come as a most welcome aid, and as a real encouragement and inspiration. The book is a study of the life and teachings and religious experience of Al Ghazali, said by De Boer to be "without doubt the most remarkable figure in all Islam."

Al Ghazali was born into the Moslem world at a time when the theological system was becoming fixed and stabilized into scholastic form. Through him new principles entered into orthodox Islam. Others had followed his way, but it remained for him to give it rank and standing in the orthodox system of Islamic thought. His is the Mystic Way. To him the Inner Light, the actual witness of God's Spirit is the only sure testimony to truth. That Al Ghazali really found God seems clear and certain. If his experience and teaching lack the high ethical note of Jesus and the perfection of close communion by Him taught, at the very least the experience within its limits is genuine. Al Ghazali really had a conversion. From doubt and despair he was raised by a spiritual experience into a state of assurance and faith. And it all happened within the ranks of Islam. Surely to know about this man, and to be led by sympathy with him to go still farther into a study of the religious mysticism of Islam today is the obvious duty and real pleasure of every missionary to a Moslem country.

In 1058, about thirty years before the birth of Bernard of Clairvaux, Bernard's great Moslem contemporary, Al Ghazali, was born at Tus, in Khorasan, Persia. Of his early life little is known, save that he began his education at a very early age, and with such success that he was sent to the larger educational center of Jurjan before he was twenty. Persian and Arabic, of course, he thoroughly mastered. Mathematics, logic, physics, metaphysics, politics and moral philosophy he also studied. Like many of us today he kept his information regarding these studies largely on paper among his notes. It is said that once on his way back to Tus from Jurjan he was robbed by brigands who even carried off his MSS. notes. Al Ghazali risked his life to save these, pleading his great sacrifices to hear the lectures there recorded. The robber chief laughed at the knowledge which was all on paper and which could so easily be taken away, but he gave them back. "And," says Al Ghazali, "this man was sent by God to teach me." Three years were then devoted to committing the notes to memory.

Shortly afterwards, Al Ghazali went to Nishapur, the home of Omar Khayyam, for further study, and after that to the camp court of Nizam Al Mulk, by whom he was appointed a teacher in the Nizamiyya College at Bagdad. Here his lectures drew great crowds. "He gave *fatwas*, or legal opinions on matters of law, he wrote books, he preached in the mosque, and was a leader of the people." Suddenly, in the very height of his popularity he is stricken with a disease diagnosed to be due to mental unrest, and almost immediately he leaves Bagdad, abandoning his property save what was necessary for his own support and that of his family. It seems that he has been led by his studies into a thorough-going skepticism. His sense of honesty prevents his further teaching and he gives up all until he can regain assurance. He had tried the way of the scholastic theologian to no avail. He had mastered the philosophy of his day, but without better success. The way of the mystic alone remained to him. To quote Al Ghazali himself, "I saw that one can only hope for salvation by devotion and the conquest of one's passions. Finally, I saw that the only condition of success was to sacrifice honor and riches and to sever the ties and attachments of worldly life. I found to my surprise that I was engrossed in several studies of little value, and profitless as regards my salvation. I probed the motives of my teaching and found that instead of being sincerely consecrated to God it was only actuated by a vain desire of honor and reputation. I perceived that I was on the edge of an abyss, and that without an immediate conversion I should be doomed to eternal fire."

It was in 1095, when thirty-eight years old, that Al Ghazali was led by these considerations to leave home and seek his spiritual fortune. From Bagdad he went to Damascus and to Jerusalem and Hebron, and thence to Mecca and Medina. At Bagdad for many years he spent long vigils in prayer in the Umayyad Mosque and in a minaret called to this day by the name of Isa (Jesus) where above a gate may be read the Greek inscription, "Thy Kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting Kingdom, and thy Dominion endureth throughout all generations." At Jerusalem he secluded himself every day in the Sanctuary of the Rock, and so for nine years he spent his life in pilgrimage and meditation and prayer.

It was not through his learned studies but through the experiences of the Moslem *zikr* that Al Ghazali found the satisfying inward assurance of God's reality. By sitting in solitude and saying continuously "Allah, Allah" till motion of tongue ceased and all was forgotten save the idea of God alone clinging to the heart, the light of the Real seemed to shine out in his heart. Returning to Bagdad he again gathered students about him and taught them his great work, the *Ihya*. Seeking a more unbroken life of quiet and devotion he returned to his native place, Tus, where he lived in charge of a monastery of *Sufis*, or Mystics, until his death in 1111.

Dr. Zwemer's book, after finishing this story of Al Ghazali's life continues with a chapter each on His Creed and Credulity, His Writings, His Ethics, His Mysticism and The Influence of Jesus Christ upon Him. Al Ghazali's creed is a long one, covering twelve pages of book print. God is conceived as the absolute Ruler, the one who irrevocably decrees "good or evil, faith or unbelief, knowledge or ignorance, obedience or rebellion." The Koran is the uncreated word of God subsisting in the essence of God. The usual Moslem conceptions, also, of question-

ing angels after death, of trial by crossing the bridge, "sharper than a sword and finer than a hair" over the back of hell, and of drinking from the tank of Mohammed, of which if a believer drinks he shall never thirst, are all included as a part of the Faith. Every believer in God's unity shall finally be saved no matter what his offence.

The writings of Al Ghazali are tabulated in a special appendix to the number of eighty-five, covering a very wide range, logic, theology, mysticism, Koranic teaching, philosophy, jurisprudence, etc. The importance of Al Ghazali's writings is attested by the evidence of another appendix which names the translations into foreign languages, four into Hebrew, one into Latin, four into German, two into French, three into English, and two into Turkish.

Ethics, Al Ghazali conceives to cover the fullest possible range of relations both human and divine. Manners are taught in detail, and the highest ethical life is thought of as the most correct as regards religion. A creature of his time Al Ghazali shows himself to be, especially in conceiving woman as the absolute slave of her husband. His four leading virtues are "wisdom, temperance, bravery and moderation" (or the golden means of conduct).

The quality of his mysticism may be appreciated from the following quotations: "The aim which the Sufis set before them is as follows: To free the soul from the tyrannical yoke of the passions, to deliver it from its wrong inclinations and evil instincts, in order that in the purified heart there should remain only room for God and the invocation of His holy name. Prayer is a nearness to God and a gift which we present to the King of Kings even as one who comes from a distant village brings it before the ruler. And your gift is accepted of God and will be returned to you on the great day of judgment, so that you are responsible to present it as beautiful as possible." He quotes with approval a saying of Mohammed: "True prayer is to make one's self meek and humble," and adds that the presence of the heart is the soul of prayer and that absent-mindedness destroys all its value. The forms of Islam Al Ghazali spiritualizes. For example, speaking of the true *kibla* he says, "It is the turning away of your outward gaze from everything save the direction of the holy house of God. Do you not then think that the turning aside of your heart from all other things to the consideration of God Most High is required of you? It certainly is. Nothing else is required of you in prayer than this, so that I would say the face of your heart must turn with the face of your body; and even as no one is able to face the house of God save by turning away from every other direction, so the heart does not truly turn towards God save by being separated from everything else than Himself."

That Jesus played a considerable part in Al Ghazali's religious life is shown by the fact that about twenty pages are devoted to quotations which Al Ghazali puts into the mouth of Jesus. Several suggest an acquaintance with our own gospels: "Behold the bird, it does not sow nor reap nor lay up store, and God Most High provides for it." Said Jesus (on him be peace), "What ails you that ye come in the garments of monks and your hearts are the hearts of ravening wolves? Wear the garments of monks if you wish, but humble your hearts with godly fear."

At the end of his book Dr. Zwemer appends a valuable bibliography. The whole book is human and thoroughly readable, certainly one of

the best books from the hand of the author, and it helps to make real to us a truly great seeker after God and a Moslem brother.

Dr. Zwemer's frequent references to *Jallal ud Din Rumi* and quotations from that great mystic suggest another possible study similar to the one under review that will be perhaps even more rewarding in giving to Christians an understanding of and warm sympathy for the earnest men of Islam who have sought for the truth, and who, handicapped as they have been, have found it in such large measure.

KING BIRGE.

Les Grecs a Smyrna. Docteur Nihad Rechad. Imprimerie Kossuth, Paris, 1920; pp. 64.

This is a collection of evidence gathered from various sources—allied, foreign and Turkish—regarding the alleged atrocities of the Greeks at the time of the occupation of the Smyrna district by the Greek forces in the spring and summer of 1919. The evidence appears conclusive, but has to do only with the inevitable abuses of a time of conquest, and not with the present government of the district, which has won much admiration from neutrals by its apparently sincere effort to deal fairly and even liberally with Moslems as well as Christians.

K. B.

Le Christianisme et la Littérature Chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam. By Le P. L. Cheikho, S. J. Vol. I. *L'Histoire du Christianisme dans l'Arabie Préislamique*, 1912. Vol. II. *La Littérature Chrétienne dans l'Arabie Préislamique*, 1919. Beyrout: Imprimerie Catholique.

Twenty-five years ago there appeared from the Catholic Press at Beyrout an important work in six fascicles entitled *Les Poetes arabes chretiens* in Arabic; the second part now completes a work of the first importance to every student of Islam. The preface deals with pagan Arabia and gives an account of the sources Oriental and Occidental, on which Prof. Cheikho's studies are based; this is followed by a comprehensive history of Christianity in Arabia during the six centuries of the Christian era before the advent of Mohammed. The entire work is not complete except the preface, but is therefore the more valuable for missionary use.

The character of this early Christianity is frankly stated to have been far from orthodox, but it was widespread and accepted without interruption during all the centuries that preceded Islam. The author gives a list of forty-seven tribes which were professedly Christian; the evidence is taken from Arabian poets and Moslem history, and especially from the monuments and records discovered by Orientalists since the day when Wright prepared his monograph on early Christianity in Arabia.

While the first part deals with the extent of Christianity, the second part takes up the question of the Christian literature in Arabia before Islam. The author's conclusions, based on abundance of evidence, are so important, that we summarise them from the preface. The entire volume, in fact, consists of extracts and quotations from pre-Islamic poets and the writings of Moslems of the Second and Third Century in the Hegira in proof of the author's thesis. Proper names, allusions, quotations, Christian proverbs, citations from the Old and New Testaments and translations of inscriptions in southwest and northwest Arabia are all brought together as proof. Pre-Islamic Arabia was indebted to Christianity for a renaissance both as regards literature and civilization.

Arabic writing was well known to the Christians of Arabia long before Islam; the names of the Deity and His attributes which are found in the Koran also, appear in pre-Islamic Christian poetry—not to speak of Christian ideas and conceptions afterwards incorporated in Moslem tradition.

As the author states in his preface (page 2) “. avant de devenir une langue mahometane, avant de servir de vehicule aux idées islamiques, l'arabe a été une langue chrétienne. C'est le résultat de nos recherches. Des Orientalistes comme de Sacy et Wellhausen en avaient déjà fait la remarque; notre travail ne laissera plus de doute à ce sujet.

“L'écriture arabe plus encore que la langage est un bienfait du christianisme. Les deux Inscriptions chrétiennes de Zebed (512 J. C.) et de Harran (568) le prouveraient amplement à défaut de la tradition constante qui attribue les origines de l'écriture arabe à des chrétiens.”

A second fascicle will complete the second part of these studies. This will show the predominant influence of Christian ideas in the poetry, science and even arts and industries of the Arabs both before and immediately after the rise of Islam.

Z.

Ghazali's Selbstbiographie; ein Vergleich mit Augustin's Konfessionen. Von H. Frick. 84 pp. Leipzig, 1919.

This able and interesting monograph appears almost simultaneously with the larger work on Ghazali by Dr. Zwerner, and follows out in detail one side of the great Moslem theologian's life. The treatise entitled *Munqidh al dalal*, containing Ghazali's autobiography is much shorter and less vivid than the “*Confessions of St. Augustine*,” but it affords a sufficient basis of comparison in essentials. Dr. Frick gives a careful synopsis of its contents, followed by a sketch of parallel points in the development of the Christian and the Moslem mystic; and another of the main differences. Each of these is drawn out in citations from the *Munqidh* and the *Confessions* given in parallel columns. Finally, the author sets forth the characteristics of the *Munqidh* as compared with the *Confessions*, leading up to the fundamental difference between the books and the writers.

The parallels are striking. Both men in their nineteenth year take a new departure in their search for truth and God: both pass through an upheaval of thought ending in scepticism; they grope among heresies: Ghazali the *Ta'limiya*; Augustine the Manichaeans; they come under the influence of mysticism, Sufi or Neoplatonist; they pass through a great inner change, preceded by vacillation, issuing in a breach with the past and followed by ecstatic experiences; both having recovered the faith of their youth devote themselves to its reestablishment, by a higher synthesis of thought. Much of this similarity, as Dr. Frick points out, may be explained on general principles of psychology as the reaction of minds and circumstances more or less similar. But the differences are even more vital. Dr. Frick well analyses the difference between the two biographies. The *Confessions* is incomparably richer in its types of character, depth of human experience and keenness of observation: it is a *vita*, the other *apologia pro vita sua*; the one is the conflict of a mind in distress, the other the struggle of a whole personality for moral unity; while both find help in mysticism, the mystical vision is attained by one through practised effort of the will, by the other through self surrender

to God; the one has arrived at a goal where the mystic condition and belief in the prophet remain disparate; the other has found in Christ the full revelation of God in a human life making a true unity, and leading him on to God's presence in a redeemed race of man in The City of God.

H. U. W. STANTON.

Handbooks Prepared Under the Direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office. No. 57: **Mohammedan History.** No. 58: **Turkey in Asia.** No. 59: **Anatolia.** No. 60: **Syria and Palestine,** 1920. London: H. M. Stationery Office.

This series is issued to afford in convenient form geographical, economic, historical and religious information respecting the various countries that were concerned in the issues of the war. The General Editor, G. W. Prothero, is to be congratulated on producing in compact form an accurate summary of actual conditions with a carefully prepared bibliography for each topic. We specially commend the little volume on Mohammedan History for its treatment of pan-Islamism.

S. M. Z.

The Ethiopic Didascalia. By J. M. Harden, B.D., LL.D. Published by the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 9/-net.

This work is the translation (for the first time) of the concluding part of the Ethiopic Didascalia, one of the least known of a number of more or less similar documents that have come down to us from comparatively early times. It has been preserved for us by the Christian Church (Monophysite) of Abyssinia whose liturgical language is generally known as Ethiopic. The basis of the present translation is one (Orient., No. 752) of the five MSS. of the Oriental Collection of the British Museum (752, 793, 797, 798, 799) which contain the complete Ethiopic Didascalia so far as we know it. A portion of the Ethiopic Didascalia was published by T. P. Platt with an English translation in 1834.

Bishop Wordsworth's description of an earlier form of the Didascalia may well be applied to this: "A somewhat rambling discourse on Church life and Society." It is of value and interest to the student of the development of Church Orders and Teaching but of no direct special value to the student of Islam. Indirectly it may be of some value even to him. These treatises, extant in various languages, called Didascalia, are the descendants, directly or indirectly, of a Greek work now lost which belongs in its original form probably to some part of the third century A. D. and therefore affords auxiliary proof of the authenticity of the Christian Scriptures and the genuineness of the Christian doctrines now propagated in Moslem countries. The doctrine of the third century and of the twentieth century are one in all essential particulars.

W. T. FAIRMAN.

The Four Gospels in Kurdish. American Bible Society, 1919.

It is with thanks to God we wish to record the fact that from a complete translation of the New Testament into Kurdish the American Bible Society has printed the four Gospels. The writer of these lines has before him the correspondence containing the kind offer of the British and the American Bible Societies to print the translation. However, the Board for the "Inter-Synodical Evangelical Lutheran Orient Mission

Society" thought it best to submit for publication only the four Gospels to begin with.

In regard to the "dialect" into which the New Testament has been translated we find the following explanation given in the translator's "Practical Kurdish Grammar" (printed by the Society in 1919): "My design has been to discover the best Kurdish in the dialects of Central Kurdistan, particularly in the Somai-Soubjboulak-Suleimania Groups." In speaking about Missionary Hornlie's attempt to translate the Gospel of St. John into the Mukri Kurdish he quotes him as saying: "I found to my great joy that the Kurds of these tribes understood each other quite well, and understood what I read to them in the Mukri dialect." The following quotation is made by him from Mr. E. B. Soane's book, "To Mesopotamia and Kurdistan in Disguise": "They speak the Kurdish language in all its purity of accent and grammatical form. Their dialect is the most ancient of all, and while its antiquity is probably not greater than that of its neighbours, its excellent preservation of ancient forms gives it a claim to be considered the standard by which to compare other dialects."

The compiler of the grammar, who is also the translator of the New Testament, uses an alphabet consisting of thirty-two letters; four of these are strictly Persian letters and twenty-eight are borrowed from the Arabic.

Rev. L. O. Fossum, the compiler of the grammar and the translator, has given to the American Bible Society a brief statement in regard to the translation. From this statement I shall take the liberty to quote: ".....I reached Soujboulak, Kurdistan, Persia, in the summer of 1911. The greatest handicap to our work among the Kurds was the lack of literature in the Kurdish language. The only thing available was a Kurdish translation of the Gospel of St. Mark by Mirza Jawat, printed at Phillipople, Bulgaria. Although we were unable to get more than forty copies of this translation, it was a great help. The main helps we had in translating the New Testament into Kurdish were the Kurdish and Persian translations, the *Kermanji* or Armenian-Turkish New Testament, printed in Constantinople in 1853 in Armenian characters for Kurdish-speaking Armenians; the 'Kermanshan Gospels,' supposed to be Kurdish, but ninety per cent Persian, were also consulted. I was assisted in the work by a few select Kurds who knew some Turkish, Persian, and Arabic."

"My plan has been to use the Kurdish which is the most grammatically developed, which has the most complete inflections, and the pure Kurdish forms most generally understood. This necessarily produces a Kurdish which is a little bit stiff, from a dialectic point of view, but it is a fair compromise, and will gradually win out. It is hoped that no dialectic translation of the Scriptures into Kurdish will be attempted but rather that, after a few years, when this translation has done its initial service in paving the way for a *general* Kurdish language, revisions and improvements may be made so as to make it still more applicable to the whole Kurdish field."

N. J. LÖHRE.

An Oriental Study of Foreign Missions. By S. C. Kanaga Rutnam. London: Robert Scott; pp. 113.

The writer states very forcibly his criticism of the policy and methods of missions in refusing to give the same standing to qualified native

Christian workers as to foreign missionaries. He shows that the conditions of the work have altered; that many Orientals are qualified for leadership and that in many respects the objections raised against Orientals being trained in Western lands for service in the Orient are not sound. His conclusions, however worthy of consideration, are too vigorous, e. g.: "The West has scourged the East with whips, but God forbid the necessity of the East having to scourge the West with scorpions. 'Shall not the Judge of the whole earth do right?'"

Z.

Nile to Aleppo. By Hector W. Dinning. Illustrated. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd. Pp. 289. 25/- (\$5).

A Captain in the Australian Army, coöperating under General Allenby during the war, gives his impressions of the Transport Service, the desert road and the campaign in Palestine and Syria, together with glimpses of life in Cairo during the war. The book is chiefly interesting for its beautiful illustrations, including a portrait in colors of Lt.-Col. Lawrence. Its view of things Oriental and Islamic is necessarily superficial.

S. M. Z.

Studia Semitica et Orientalia. By Seven Members of Glasgow University Oriental Society. 127 pp. MacLehose, 1920.

What more delightful birthday present could be made to an aged scholar and teacher than a volume of choice studies by "old pupils and fellow labourers"? This good fortune has recently befallen Professor Emeritus James Robertson, D.D., LL.D., on his eightieth birthday. William Melville Christie unfolds convincingly the arguments historical and topographical which fix Tell Hum as the site of Capernaum.

The characteristic features of Jewish everyday life and work in the early centuries of our era, as reflected in the Mishna treatise *Shabbath* are vividly illustrated from the prohibitions and commands of the day of rest. The fascinating subject of Arabic calligraphy is illustrated by translation of a possible sixteenth century MS. which goes back to the system of the great scribe Ibn Mugla (died A. D. 940). The writer believes that the use of the *Naskhi* script with which we are familiar, in place of the thick and ungainly *Kufi*, went back well beyond that time, but Ibn Mugla transformed the writing of *Naskhi* from an art into a science, by basing the shape of the letters on definite relations to the square dot produced by the reed pen. This was the *Khatta 'l Mansub*. This principle of geometrical harmony of the parts, which we find also in the Mughal architecture, produced an unrivalled completeness and harmony of form, though not without a sense of constraint in treatment. We can only mention an article on certain Moslem charms by William Baron Stevenson and recommend readers to find out for themselves what the others are, and the degrees and titles which they have modestly concealed.

H. U. W. STANTON.

Mission Archeologique en Arabie. Supplement au Volume II. Coutumes des Fuqara par les RR. PP. Jaussen and Savingac. Paris Librairie Paul Geuthner, 1914 (paru en, 1920); pp. 99. Price Frs. 15.-

This careful study of the customs of one of the Bedouin tribes in North Arabia is the result of the archæological mission undertaken by two professors of the Jesuit School at Jerusalem. It is a supplement

to the larger and earlier volume by A. Jaussen (*Coutumes des Arabes au pays de Moab, chez Gabalda, Paris*). The first chapter deals with the tribal life, womanhood, marriage, divorce, slavery and other institutions. The second chapter tells of the individual of the tribe, physical traits, moral character, maladies, etc. The third chapter is the longest and most interesting, as it deals with the religious life of a Bedouin tribe which still retains many primitive customs, not in accord with Moslem orthodoxy, e. g., blood sacrifices are exceedingly common and undoubtedly have the same significance to the mind of the Arabs that sacrifice had to the Jews in the Old Testament. The sprinkling of blood, the substitution of the victim and the words used during the sacrifice are almost the same as in the case of Israel. The funeral customs of the *Fuqara* are described at length: "After burial (page 76) all the Arabs present wash their hands by the side of the grave to signify that they pardoned the deceased all his injustices which he may have committed; then there follow two prostrations and they go back to the camp. After partaking of coffee, the same night, a member of the family, son, brother or uncle of the deceased, brings a sacrifice of the sheep or the goats, and cuts its neck behind the tent. As the blood flows, he says this is the sacrifice for the spirit of such and such a one. The animal is then cut up, put on the fire and distributed to the guests." The book contains lists in Arabic and French, of the flora and fauna in Northwest Arabia, and has a complete Arabic index.

Z.

Le Droit D'un Peuple à la Vie. Discours prononcés à la Conférence organisée à Londres, Essex-Hall, le Mardi, 23 Mars, 1920, pour revendiquer les Droits de la Turquie à une Existence Nationale.

Le Traité Turc: Le Verdict De l'Inde.

Le Traité de Paix Avec la Turquie, l'Attitude Des Musulmans et de l'Inde.

Le Secrétaire d'Etat Pour Les Indes et la Délégation de l'Inde Pour le Califat.

M. Lloyd George et la Délégation Indienne Pour le Califat.

Meeting Franco-Hindou en Faveur de la Turquie. Discours de M. P. Bourdarie.—A series of pamphlets published by the Bureau d'Information Islamique, 3 Rue de Teheran, Paris.

The character of these appeals for Turkey and the Khalifat are evident from their titles. The same Bureau publishes, as its origin of information, "Echo de l'Islam" of which we have received twelve numbers of the first year. It is a weekly paper for propagandist purposes.

Village Education in India; the Report of a Commission of Inquiry. Pp. 209. Oxford University Press, 1920. Introduction by J. H. Oldham.

In 1919 a Commission, appointed by the Missionary Societies of Great Britain and North America, undertook an inquiry into the educational system in India villages, following some remarkable statements made by the Bishop of Madras at a conference in 1916. The Commission consisted of A. A. Fraser, M.A., Principal of Trinity College, Kandy, Chairman; Miss M. M. Allan, Principal of Homerton Training College, Cambridge; J. H. McLean, M.A., Conjeeveram, South India; Kanakaryan G. Paul, O.B.E., General Secretary of the Indian National Council of the Y. M. C. A., and D. J. Fleming, Ph.D., of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, Secretary.

The main considerations of the Commission were the serious degree of illiteracy among the masses in India, the social conditions, the political

and nationalist movements, and the possible supply of efficient educational missionaries. In the report emphasis is placed upon the various influences of the school as vocational centers, the opportunity for the development of physical and community welfare, coöperation with the Government, education of girls, and the essential of one preparation for this service. The book will certainly be of great value to those devoted to Christian educational work in India. It is both a survey and the recommendation of experts. One would appreciate such a contribution to the study of other areas of mission work, and this report will, we hope, serve as a model.

R. S. M.

From Persian Uplands. By F. Hale. Constable & Co., London, 1920; pp. 247.

A collection of letters describing conditions in Persia from August, 1913, to February, 1919; without introduction or any suggestion of the purpose or subject or content of the book. The reader is introduced to various unimportant details of modern life in Persia, from Kermansha on the west, to Meshed on the east, with slight indications of the situations arising during the war, intrigues of the Germans, and British successes in diplomacy. The book makes light reading, and contributes very little to one's knowledge of Persia.

R. S. M.

With the Soldiers in Palestine and Syria. By J. P. Wilson. Pp. 115. Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, London. 4/-net.

An extraordinary interesting narrative by a chaplain of the British forces present on the battlefields that decided Palestine's destiny and ministering in the base hospitals of the wounded. After a year and a half spent in close touch with the land and its people, he is convinced that "Palestine breathes of Christ, the land is lit up with this light. If the traveler's heart burns within him, it is because of Christ. As Palestine history is central in the story of mankind so Christ is the central figure of that history."

Z.

Medical Missions: The Twofold Task. Walter R. Lambuth, M.D., F.R.G.S. Pp. 262. Student Volunteer Movement for Foreign Missions, New York.

The contents of Bishop Lambuth's book consist of incidents and comments showing the need of medical missions, their aim and scope, the secret of their power and the character and training of medical missionaries. There is much of interest for the students of missions in Moslem countries. Much is recorded of the work of Dr. Cochran, of Persia; Dr. Van Dyck and Dr. Post, of Syria; Dr. Pennell, of the Afghan frontier, and many others who have broken down prejudice by their unselfish and skilful service.

E. E.

L'Islam et La Politique des Allies. L'Islam Mystique et Schismatique Le Problème du Khalifat. Dr. Enrico Insabato. Adapté de l'Italien par Magali-Boisnard.—Berger-Levrault, Editeurs, Paris, 1920; pp. 237. Prix net 12 francs.

The appearance of this book written in 1917, was delayed by the censor. It is divided into three parts of which the first deals with the

Islamic Fraternities, the second with Heretical Sects, and the third, and longest part, with Orthodox Islam.

The author views everything from the standpoint of the diplomat and statesman. His conclusions concern our readers who are familiar with most of the facts regarding Islam in general. With these conclusions we cannot wholly agree, but lest we misrepresent the author, we give them in his own language: "Dépit d'une opinion qui s'est trop généralement accréditée, limitant ou paralysant certains gestes qui eussent été efficaces en temps voulu, *les dissemblances religieuses entre Musulmans et Européens ne constituent pas une véritable source d'hostilité ni d'irréductibilité*. Des différences de rituel peuvent créer un obstacle à l'intimité des esprits, sans nuire à l'alliance des sentiments et des intérêts. Il suffit de s'entendre quant aux bases stipulées et d'être d'accord sur les principes. C'est une question de simple tolérance et d'intelligente loyauté. Or, les trois grandes religions sémitiques, le christianisme, l'islamisme et le judaïsme, ont cette même base fondamentale: 'Le bien uni au sublime qui est le véritable bien.' Le mysticisme chrétien se rencontre, presque en chacun de ses principes, avec le spiritualisme musulman. Y a-t-il donc quelque apparence de logique à croire que le *Musulman du bien* ne puisse sympathiser avec le *Chrétien du bien*? Cette sympathie, cette entente parfaite dans le domaine de la ferveur pure et de la pensée haute, doivent nécessairement se produire comme doit normalement se contracter l'alliance d'aide et de défense, de concours et de préservation, puisque, dans leur royaume spirituel, ces deux êtres se trouvent avoir les mêmes ennemis."

And again he says: "Je n'ai cessé de la dire et je le répète encore énergiquement, *la régénérescence de l'Orient musulman doit se faire au nom de l'Islam et par l'Islam*. De retentissants événements m'ont déjà donné raison.

"Quiconque est Musulman l'est à jamais; tous les missionnaires l'ont expérimenté; or, la connaissance de l'Islam est la clef de toute psychologie orientale; si l'on ne comprend pas l'idée islamique, on ne saura rien de la mentalité musulmane; si l'on ne donne pas une tournure islamique aux expressions de sa pensée, on reste éternellement incompris des Musulmans. Sous son classicisme, l'Orient est toujours un primitif l'incompréhensible l'éloigne et l'emplit de défiance et il se méfie à double titre de celui qui ne le comprend pas."

Z.

The Missionary Situation After the War. By J. H. Oldham. Notes prepared for the International Missionary Meeting at Crans, near Geneva, June 22-28, 1920. Published at New York, 25 Madison Avenue. Price, 30 cents. Pp. 62.

A most valuable summary of missionary freedom previous to the war, the factors that modified the situation after the war, the problem of education and the obligations of missions to governments. The reference to Moslem lands are on pp. 13, 25, 27, 28, 32. A note by Canon Gairdner summarizes the difficulties of the situation even after Versailles:

"In every country where a Mohammedan government is in real or officially recognized being, the Shariat is ideally the law of the land, and the only law of the land.

"But practically it has never been found possible to govern purely by the Shariat; and supplements and modifications thereof have always been

introduced in the shape of governmental decrees (*ahkam sultaniya*), capitulations, civil and criminal codes, etc., etc., by Mohammedan as well as Christian governments.

"Many such trenchings on the canon law have been introduced and maintained by the British and their predecessors in Egypt, where the execution of the provisions of the Shariat would have been intolerable: for example, amputation of the hand for theft, and the death penalty for 'apostasy' from Islam.

"It is submitted that to secure in Egypt the same level of elementary personal freedom which is considered a necessary minimum in civilized countries, a further modification of existing law and usage is still necessary. For example:

"(a) Conversions from Christianity to Mohammedanism are registered officially, and the new status of the convert is thus established. But there is no way of securing the registration and recognition of at least equally mature and considered conversions to Christianity, whose status is thus exceedingly unsatisfactory, vis-a-vis the government, the law and the public.

"(b) A convert, on being baptized, especially if he changes his name as he is morally obliged to do, is deprived of his patrimony, and that not only when there is a special clause in the family trust which secures the property to orthodox Mohammedans exclusively, but also where there is no such clause, i. e., where the family property is divided in the normal way. It is even doubtful whether a convert could secure the probate of a special legacy in his favour, except by virtually declaring himself a Moslem when doing so and in order to do so.

"(c) A woman has no power to change her faith in Egypt. If unmarried her person can be claimed by her father or guardian, and if married by her husband, and the British-officered police will execute the order of the Moslem court to this effect. She then disappears from view, and every form of pressure is applied to make her actually or virtually recant, and oblige her to live an actually or virtually Mohammedan life."

S. M. Z.

A Message to Mohammedans. By James Harwood, B.A. Published by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, Essex Hall, Essex Street, Strand, London, 1903. Pp. 15.

This pamphlet, published by the British and Foreign Unitarian Association, is an attempt to explain away the doctrine of the Trinity as accepted by the Christian Church. We can best show the character of this attempt by quoting a paragraph. Missionaries everywhere will need to make new study of this fundamental doctrine, as we are facing new conditions.

"The fundamental doctrine of Mohammedanism, of course, is that God is one. The fundamental doctrine of Christianity, as commonly understood by Mohammedans, is that the Godhead consists of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, three in one, and one in three. This triune doctrine is so objectionable to Mohammedans, and so prevailingly associated in their minds with Christianity, that they have not realized that there is a body of professing Christians, who look up to Jesus Christ as their religious leader and yet reject the doctrine of the Trinity as emphatically as do Mohammedans. Yet such is the case, and it is the object of the present writer, who is a Unitarian—a believer, i. e., in the Uniper-

sonality of God, as taught by Jews and Mohammedans, by Jesus Himself and His Apostles—briefly to explain what Unitarian Christianity teaches in reference to God. It has no formal creed, such as is put forth by many of the Christian Churches, but nevertheless in Great Britain and certain parts of Europe and in North America its doctrines are professed and taught in many churches. And even in churches, which are nominally 'Orthodox,' i. e., Trinitarian, it is notorious that there are many members who are practically Unitarian in their belief. It is therefore no mere individual peculiarity to which attention is earnestly invited, but a recognised form of Christian faith, which has a literature and institutions of its own, and in one way or another counts numerous followers."

S. M. Z.

The Holy Places of Mesopotamia. By the Superintendent. Government Press, Busrah.

A handsome folio volume on the shrines of Mesopotamia with text in English, Arabic and Persian, giving brief descriptions. Some of the photographs are beautifully colored and all of them are exceedingly rare and interesting.

Z.

Among the Ibos of Nigeria. By G. T. Basden, M.A., F.R.G.S. Illustrations. London: Seeley, Service & Co., Ltd., 1921; pp. 815. 25/-

For a thorough understanding of the impending struggle between Islam and Christianity in Africa for the possession of pagan hearts and lives this book offers a key. The writer has lived close to the people and has made an honest attempt to ascertain all the salient features of the life and customs of the Ibos. Every detail of their daily customs and personal habits is treated with scientific accuracy and Christian sympathy, a combination which is rare in books of this character. The illustrations and the text are necessarily realistic. Naked paganism is not always attractive.

Among the topics treated are child life, courtship and marriage, polygamy and slavery, death and burial rites, sports and pastimes, food, arts, music, trade, war, sacrifice, fables and folklore. The author is himself one of the harbingers of a better day. A brief chapter tells of pioneer missionary effort. The last chapter in the book sums up his conclusions regarding Christianity and Islam. He says, "We recognise that the ultimate issue lies with the Christian Church. If she can be induced to abandon the laissez-faire attitude of the past and to show a disposition to grapple seriously with the task of evangelizing the pagan races of Nigeria, there is overwhelming evidence to prove that they will embrace the Christian religion with alacrity. The ethics of the Gospel, and the love of God as manifested in Christ, appeal irresistibly to the pagan negro of whatever tribe or language. Mohammedanism deprived of compulsory methods makes little progress when it is compelled to prove itself alongside the persuasive attractiveness of Christianity."

S. M. Z.

The Memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey. Edited by Sommerville Story, with a preface by William Morton Fullerton. Pp. 410. Constable & Co., Ltd., London.

Few Oriental statesmen have given their memoirs to the world, and this fact makes the memoirs of Ismail Kemal Bey doubly interesting.

An Albanian of a noble family, he entered young the service of the Turkish Government, coming from the beginning under the influence of Midhat Pacha the father of the Constitution in Turkey; and the lessons he learned from that great patriot were put into practice in the different high posts which he occupied. He never ceased to impress on the Sultan Abdul Hamid the necessity of adopting a constitutional regime as the only means for saving the rest of the Empire; but his sound and loyal advice was responsible for his long exile to the interior of Asia Minor, and finally he made his escape from Constantinople on board a British steamer and remained abroad from 1900 till the proclamation of the Constitution in 1908.

As member of the new Turkish Parliament he was opposed to the nefarious policy of the Young Turks, and again he had to leave the country. He died in Europe while trying to obtain from the Peace Conference a recognition of the independence of his native country Albania.

The book throws light on the Albanian question and on the policy of Abdul Hamid which was dictated by his dislike towards England for insisting on the execution of reforms, and by his tendency towards the Czar and the Kaiser who had promised to uphold his autocracy. It was only natural that the misgovernment of the Turk, especially during the last half century, should bring about the downfall of the Turkish Empire.

N. BIRBARI.

The Dawn of a New Era in Syria. By Miss Margaret McGilvary. Fleming H. Revell Co., New York; pp. 300.

This description of the sufferings of the Syrians during the war, written by one who in her capacity of Secretary of the American Red Cross Chapter in Syria had a great opportunity to gauge the misery of the people when they were cut off from the rest of the world, reads like letters from borderland. The Turk determined to exterminate the Armenians by the sword and the Syrians by starvation, but a small band of determined workers decided to defy the Turk and by unsurpassed devotion to duty and at a great risk to their lives, succeeded in keeping thousands of Syrians alive till the liberation of the country by Lord Allenby's victorious troops in the fall of 1918.

The book tells of the great sufferings through hunger and disease; of the various efforts made by the relief workers in transmitting the money sent by the Syrians abroad to their friends at home, and in raising funds for relief work by appealing to the philanthropists in America; of the hostility manifested by the Turkish officials who put every obstacle in the way of the workers, deporting some and imprisoning others, and refers to the ingenious ways by which money continued to come from America even after the entry of that country in the war and the severance of its diplomatic relations with Turkey. It tells also of the hopes and disappointments experienced during the long years of war, and of the aspirations of the Syrians who had put all their trust and confidence in America, never dreaming but that America would act on the principle of self-determination which she had proclaimed to the world.

Few books can hold the attention of the reader from beginning to end as this book. It is perhaps the best account yet given of the conditions in Syria between November, 1914, and October, 1918.

N. B.

Persian Pictures. By Mary Fleming Labaree. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. Pp. 24.

Mrs. Labaree wrote this little volume of verses out of her own experience as a missionary in Persia, and out of her own vivid memories of that experience after ill health forced her return to America. The verses are full of a discerning, appreciative spirit. Anyone who has been in the East will respond to their feeling of sympathy and understanding. And it is sad to think that the simple Persian life which they depict has been so tragically shattered.

R. E. S.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS.

BY MISS HOLLIS W. HERING, NEW YORK

Missionary Research Library

I. IN GENERAL.

CHRISTENDOM AND ISLAM. A Turkish Effendi. (b) Islam and the Entente. H. M. Howsin. (*The Living Age*, Boston. January 1, 1921. Pp. 6-20.)

A stinging indictment of Western "civilization." After receiving the highest spiritual revelation yet vouchsafed to mankind, Christendom has become utterly mastered by the two vices of cupidity and hypocrisy. Reform of the "less advanced" races, as far as these races can observe, is measured by the development of material resources, which incidentally add greatly to the wealth of the "reformers." The first article is reprinted from *Blackwood's Magazine* of January, 1880, but is even now so timely that there is no break in continuity between it and its completion in the second article.

THE END OF THE OTTOMAN EMPIRE. Sir Valentine Chirol. (*The Edinburgh Review*, London. October, 1920. Pp. 209-232.)

An excellent brief survey of the causes which have reduced the Ottoman Empire from a position of magnificent world power to that of a second-rate Asiatic state with curtailed rights of sovereignty. While tracing the growing weakness and moral corruptness of Turkey, however, the author sounds a warning to the Western Powers; for disaster must occur if the East loses its faith in the moral superiority of the West, through lack of fulfilment of pledges given by the West.

LES MUSULMANS DE BOSNIE-HERZEGOVINE. Louis Yelavitch. (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. June, 1920. Pp. 119-133.)

More than one-third of the total population of Bosnia-Herzegovina are Mohammedans of Slavic origin. Islam became established there during the second half of the fifteenth century, and its followers have always been the irreconcilable enemies of Austria; but the new government, having respected their religious and social organization, has won their allegiance. It is this organization which is here described.

LA RÉORGANISATION DES HABOUS AU MAROC. H. L. Rabino. (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. June, 1920. Pp. 53-97.)

The author was privileged to inspect the different bureaux of the "habous" in most of the cities in the French zone of Morocco, and here gives the result of his investigations, together with a brief bibliography on the subject. Among other topics treated are: divers categories of habous; the neglect and disuse into which they have fallen; their organization by the protectorate; their new administration; and results of their organization.

THE STRUGGLE FOR THE NILE. William E. Smythe. (*The American Review of Reviews*, New York. December, 1920. Pp. 607-617.)

At the present time, the Nile is serving a total area of 5,300,000 acres, all but 100,000 of which are in Egypt between Assuan and the sea. The question of the use of the river for irrigation, therefore, is of the most vital importance to the country. This history of the struggle for control of the river between Egypt and the Sudan, that for construction between great English engineers, and, finally, the adjudication of a commission of disinterested outside engineers is enlightening as to one of the grave problems the new Egypt is facing. The article is well illustrated and convincing.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

THE SITUATION IN ARABIA. P. W. Harrison. (*The Atlantic Monthly*, Boston. December, 1920. Pp. 849-855.)

Dr. Harrison, one of the most influential medical missionaries in Arabia, speaks with authority both as to the psychology of the Arab, the fundamental lines of development in the country during the war, and the critical situation at its close. He is too wise to prophesy as to the future. The interrelations of the great leader, Bin Saoud, the Shereef of Mecca (who, in Arabia, is considered merely a puppet of the British), and the fanatical brotherhood of the Ichwan are clearly outlined, and are shown to be of enormous importance to all hoping for the success of the Gospel in Inland Arabia.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

LES DEROQANA DE TANGIER. E. Michaux-Bellaire (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. June, 1920. Pp. 98-118.)

After a short history of the religious societies of Northwest Morocco, the Derqaona are described in considerable detail. The Sheik Sidi Mohamed El-Ghomari, suspected of being in close league with the Germans before the war, attempted to turn this world catastrophe to his own advantage. His followers became more and more numerous, and have proved utterly devoted to him. Organized in semi-military fashion, they refused to obey any authority whatsoever but that of the Sheik, and, as a result, created in Tangier a practically independent community.

EVERYDAY LIFE IN AFGHANISTAN. Frederick Simpich and "Haji Mirza Hussein." (*The National Geographic Magazine*, Washington. January, 1921. Pp. 85-110.)

Next to Tibet, Afghanistan is the largest country in the world that is practically closed to the citizens of other nations. Yet the Amir and his military aristocracy follow intently all the big events in the outside world, so that this buffer state is keenly sensitive to the ferment in the Moslem world. This article, which is profusely illustrated, is based on observations made by a European during a stay in Kabul as guest of the Amir, and upon information gathered while traveling in the country disguised as a Persian pilgrim.

THE "GOOD OLD DAYS" IN MOROCCO. Walter B. Harris. (*Blackwood's Magazine*, Edinburgh. December, 1920. Pp. 729-750.)

The progress of the present can best be judged by comparison with the past, and life in the French Protectorate has changed radically since the bombardment of Casablanca. It is less exciting, safer, and, by the same token, more monotonous. The great advance which has been made under the French and the reaction of the people at large to them are well suggested in these entertaining reminiscences. The favored position of the Jews is described, and the medical mission work particularly commended.

L'ISLAM AUX INDES NEERLANDAISES. Antoine Cabaton. (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. June 1, 1920. Pp. 27-52.)

There are about thirty-five million Mohammedans in the Dutch East Indies, thirty million of whom are in Java. That this religion has become so widespread in the Indian Archipelago seems to have been due to the generally mediocre civilization of the original inhabitants, and to their aversion to Hinduism and its caste system, so different from the individual liberty proclaimed by Islam. At present, one out of every four pilgrims to Mecca and Medina annually comes from the Dutch East Indies. The priests and their courts, the life of the mosques, the Mohammedan schools, the worship of the saints, and the mysticism practiced in the Archipelago are treated in turn. The article is in the nature of an exhaustive review of Dr. Snouck Hurgronje's work.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

CAN THE JEWS GO BACK TO PALESTINE? ZIONISM TO-DAY. Israel Zangwill. (*Outward Bound*, London. January, 1921. Pp. 27-34.)

The Jews, forming only a small proportion of the population of Palestine, have managed to cause a very disproportionate amount of ferment. Misinterpretation of Mr. Balfour's historic letter promising them a "National Home" in Palestine to a "National Home" of Palestine has brought out precisely those practical difficulties which heretofore Zionists have refused to face. Zangwill discusses impartially the present situation, feeling the immediate salvation lies

in the personality of the High Commissioner, since the conception of Palestine as a mandatory has been sunk in that of a Crown Colony.

EGYPT A NATION. (*The Round Table*, London. December, 1920. Pp. 32-49.)

A stimulating historical survey of Great Britain's relations to the Egyptians, as a background to a consideration of the Milner proposals. The British attitude is well traced through the successive steps from the time when England was forced to enter Egypt in order to control the approach to India through the Suez Canal down to the proclamation of the Protectorate; while, on the Egyptian side, the growth beneath the surface of unified national spirit among a people having a common language, racial character, tradition, and (to a large degree) faith, is clearly portrayed. Various of the Milner proposals are then taken up and commented upon in the light of the main principle of settlement: i. e., Egypt to be allowed by Great Britain to run her own government practically without interference; but, in the case of complications with foreign powers compelling intervention, the intervening power to be Great Britain and no one else.

EGYPT AND INDIA; A COMPARISON. Stanley Rice. (*The Asiatic Review*, London. January, 1921. Pp. 34-42.)

An interesting parallel between the manifestations of the new national consciousness as shown in India and in Egypt. That there are great differences is admitted at the outset, yet in both cases the results are surprisingly similar, and are the logical outcome of Western principles applied to Eastern psychology, made without any real appreciation of that psychology.

EGYPT AND THE MILNER PROPOSALS. W. Ormsby Gore. (*The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. December, 1920. Pp. 979-990.)

An analysis of the practicability of the Milner proposals in the light of actual present day conditions in Egypt. The relations of Egypt to the Sudan and to the control and maintenance of the Suez Canal are briefly discussed, but in the main attention is concentrated on the method of procedure by which the proposals are to be carried into effect; and the important results which must follow if Great Britain obtains from the capitulatory powers the transfer of their rights.

THE EGYPTIAN SITUATION. Malcolm McIlwraith. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. December, 1920. Pp. 910-915.)

A brief summary of the negotiations between Lord Milner's Commission and the Egyptian delegation, with the resulting Memorandum of Agreement. The keynote of the latter is held to be in the abolition of the capitulations. If, as there is every indication, this abolition should prove to be impracticable, will the whole transaction between the mission and the delegates be vitiated? And, in that event, may not the charge be fairly raised that the

Egyptian people were gravely misled, hopes having been deliberately raised for the fulfilment of which there was no reasonable ground of anticipation?

PRESENT DISCONTENTS IN THE NEAR AND MIDDLE EAST. D. G. Hogarth. (*The Quarterly Review*, London. October, 1920. Pp. 411-423.)

The discontent among the Arabs has reached a stage where a constructive investigation into its causes is imperative. Various secondary causes are here summarized, but the primary factor is felt to be the refusal of the Allies to grant that absolute independence which two years ago the Arabs thought was won and assured. The grounds for this refusal are very fairly and thoughtfully analyzed.

IV. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

GOD'S WILL FOR THE MOSLEM WORLD. Samuel M. Zwemer. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. December, 1920. Pp. 1089-1094.)

A missionary address which was delivered at Keswick, England, in July, 1920. It is a call for reconsecration to the service of the Mohammedan world. To those who challenge the work for Mohammedans it gives an outline of the fundamental reasons for the work by tracing God's will through His purpose of redemption, His character as shown to us in His promises and commands, and His program in history. To those who are discouraged, it offers constructive encouragement through prayer, self-sacrifice, and attention to the "still, small, voice."

A LIBERATING FORCE IN TURKEY. James L. Barton. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. January, 1921. Pp. 31-34.)

Part of a symposium on the relation of Christian teaching to the peace of the world, and the effect of missionary work on national and international problems. The entrance of missionaries into Turkey brought intellectual, religious, and physical unrest, yet the institutions causing this unrest have proved the means of making less complicated the pacifying of the areas formerly occupied by Turkey.

PERSIA, A CHALLENGE TO THE CHURCH. E. T. Allen. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. January, 1921. Pp. 13-20.)

Persia, the sport and pawn of nations, the imperishable, has not filled her proper place in the political world through lack of education and the distrust of stronger nations; she is not among the Christian nations because of the deep bigotry and the fiery fanaticism of Islam there. Yet the heroism and devotion as here outlined, with which the Christian Church in the past has met her challenge form a clarion call to a renewed consecration and to a mighty exhibition of that love which suffereth long.

THE MOSLEM WORLD

A quarterly review of current events, literature, and
thought among Mohammedans and the progress
of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

Editor: SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

Professor A. Wensinck, of the University of Leyden, needs no introduction to Orientalists and students of Islam. He has made a special study of Tradition and is at present preparing an Index to the six orthodox collections. He is a contributor to the Encyclopædia of Islam.

Charles T. Hooper is the agent of the British and Foreign Bible Society for Egypt, Arabia and Palestine. He is one of the few Europeans who have visited the capital of Abyssinia during the war and writes with authority.

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Dr. J. Davidson Frame belongs to the Presbyterian Mission in Persia and has contributed other articles to our Quarterly.

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Rev. Stephen V. R. Trowbridge, Major in the Red Cross Relief Work during the war and Secretary of the World's Sunday School Association in the Near East, contributes a paper representing a study of the subject when he was still a missionary in Turkey, before his transfer to Cairo.

Rev. W. A. Rice, the author of "Crusaders of the Twentieth Century" and other works on Islam as a missionary problem, has had many years of experience in Persia under the Church Missionary Society.

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THE MOSLEM WORLD

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No. 3

A NEW DAY FOR ETHIOPIA

(With Map)

IN THE MOSLEM WORLD for July, 1920, Mr. W. J. W. Roome supplied us with a very excellent map, showing the tribes and sub-tribes of Central Africa on the advance line of Islam. A careful study of this map should stir to vision and suggestion all who are interested in the spread of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Mohammedan lands. The present article has reference only to Abyssinia (or Ethiopia, as the natives prefer to name it) which is one of the greatest countries in the border marches of Islam in Africa. The accompanying map (frontispiece) may serve to give a little further detail regarding the languages and religions of that country. Ethiopia is said to have a population of about 8,000,000, one-third of which is Moslem, the remainder being Christian and Pagan. The late Emperor Menelik II was known as a strong man and he stoutly prohibited the building of mosques or the propagation of Islam in his kingdom. We are told that where a mosque did exist he had it replaced by a church. Nevertheless in later days Islam has succeeded in finding many inroads into Ethiopia.

The church of Ethiopia claims high veneration for its antiquity. It was in the year 330 that this country received the Gospel through the teaching of Frumentius, who was ordained the first Bishop of Abyssinia by Athan-

asius, then Patriarch of Alexandria. From Frumentius to Simeon (A. D. 1613) they count ninety periods of rule.

For over 1,200 years the Christians of Ethiopia withstood the encroachments of their neighbors, the Mohammedans. Separated only by a narrow sea and strip of territory from the very gate of Mecca, this Christian church has flourished like an oasis in the desert; while nations to the north, the east and the west have been desolated by Mohammedan usurpation.

The attachment of this people to the religion of their ancestors has been attributed to the circumstance that Christianity was introduced into the country not by force of treaty but by knowledge of conviction. Hence it is that both rulers and subjects have ever united in their defence of the faith; and Ethiopia exhibits the solitary instance, in Africa, of Christianity surviving as the national religion. The Christians of Arabia are almost extinguished; in no part of Nubia is Christianity now professed; in Egypt it was subjugated and dwindled; no native church on the Barbary coast invites our cooperation; yet Ethiopia remains a Christian African nation. Attachment to a religion often survives long after the knowledge of it has become obscured by ignorance, and the observance of it blemished by superstition. This has been the case in later ages, of Ethiopia. The zeal of a simple people tenacious of the severities of will worship; and the jealousy of everything Mohammedan, viewed with growing aversion, as an enemy ever in sight, must be the moral causes, combined with the peculiar advantages which a mountainous country affords as an asylum to the persecuted, which explain, in some measure, the methods by which the overruling Providence of God has preserved Ethiopia as a Christian nation. May it not be that Ethiopia, spiritually enlightened and wisely trained, shall mainly contribute towards performing the great work of holding up and turning back the power of Mohammedanism, right along the advance line, and of planting Christianity from the Red Sea to the African coast of the Atlantic? It is not

our purpose here to say how far heresy and contention have corrupted the simplicity of the faith in the Ethiopian Church but to point out the fact of the existence of a great people in Central Africa, who are strong in their love for the Word of God. The position of the Ethiopian toward the Scriptures is much the same as that of the Jew toward the Old Testament. This is surely an immense advantage in having a people so placed geographically needing only the living touch and diffusive spirit of the Gospel. It is not by anathemas that the Church of Ethiopia will be restored but by the faithful and affectionate administration of the truths and ordinances of the Gospel, which must be applied as a healing balm to her festering wounds.

We believe that the new day has already dawned for this interesting old country. In the south a railway from Jibuti on the Red Sea makes it possible now to reach Addis Ababa, the capital, in three days. In the north a good railway from Massowa climbs the mountains to the tableland of Asmara. From the western side at high water regular steamers ply the Nile from Khartoum right up into Abyssinia.

These three points of access are being used by the British and Foreign Bible Society and Scriptures are steadily entering the country. This Society has acquired its own building site in the capital together with the permission and good relations set forth in the following letter:

"From Mattheos, Archbishop of the Kingdom of Abyssinia, to Mr. Hooper, Director of the British and Foreign Bible Society, Port Said:

"Peace and grace to you from the Lord Jesus. We have received your letter dated February 7th last, and we thanked the Lord Christ for your arrival in Egypt in health and peace.

"With regard to the place which you ask to establish in Addis Ababa under our patronage for the sale and distribution of the Holy Scriptures. You know quite well

that this work rejoices us greatly, and we therefore inform you that there is no hindrance to its establishment on the conditions you promised us to carry out when you visited Abyssinia—which are, that there be sold in this place nothing besides the Holy Scriptures, and that, as is the principle of your Holy Society, the employees of the place do not make any opposition through preaching.

“With regard to our opinion as to what concerns the success of this place, and if you agree, there should be some copies of the Holy Scriptures in the Abyssinian language containing the ancient and modern together, and some containing them separately; and there should be also copies in the Arabic language in the same way, printed in large visible type, some vowelled and some with references. We see that this will greatly help the distribution of the Holy Scriptures, and this is our hope and desire.

“May the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit be with us all. Amen.

“Written in Addis Ababa, 11 Barmhat, 1630 (which corresponds to March 20, 1914).

(Seal of Abba Mattheos, Archbishop of Ethiopia.)

(Signed)

“MATTHEOS,

“Archbishop of the Kingdom of Abyssinia.”

At the close of 1920 the Bible Society sent up to their depot in Addis Ababa Mr. T. P. Bevan, an experienced worker, to organize colportage throughout the country. For over one hundred years the society has been working for Abyssinia with the result that the Scriptures now exist in Ethiopic, Amharic, Tigré, Tigrinya, Galla, Harti and Ogaden. Other translations for the smaller tribes are in process of preparation. The ecclesiastical language of Ethiopia is the Ethiopic, which bears a very close affinity to the Hebrew and Arabic. In this language the Abyssinians possess all the books of the Holy Scriptures and in it their liturgy and devotions are performed. They have also their ecclesiastical canons and historical memorials.

Since the discovery of the Abyssinian Church by the Portuguese, the languages of the country have been cultivated with great success both by members of the Romish Church and by Protestants. The fruits of the labours of the Jesuits, however, in this department, are not before the world. To the Roman Catholic Church, and everything connected with the memory of the Jesuit missions, the Abyssinians have an unconquerable repugnance. It is not likely they will ever forget the attempts made by that Church to obtain dominion over their faith, but Protestant churches, by adopting measures of another kind, will escape such hostility as has been excited by the Latins.

Had the Portuguese missionaries, instead of attempting to torture the Abyssinians into Popery, presented them with the Scriptures in their vernacular languages, may we not justly entertain the belief, that Christianity would, long ere this, have penetrated, by the way of Abyssinia into the very heart of Africa?

Justly may this noble race unawed by Mohammedans and not yet dislodged by Pagans, claim our deepest sympathy. Still they seem to elevate the Royal Standard; and to proclaim in the words of the motto inscribed on it, to the whole world, "The Lion of the Tribe of Judah hath prevailed." The crying need of Abyssinia is the Gospel. The translation work is done, the books are ready, the people are waiting. The great Head of the Christian Church is saying to us, "Whom shall I send and who will go for us?" Ethiopia still stretches out her hands to the Protestant Church saying, "Come over and help us."

C. T. HOOPER.

Port Said, Egypt.

AN OPEN-MINDED TURK ON THE FUTURE OF HIS RACE*

DEAR DR. ZWEMER:

My interview with the Mohammedan gentleman mentioned to you by Dr. Barton, was to me most interesting. I have had further conversation with this gentleman, and he has given me a more extended idea of the tract he has prepared for publication. Ilhami Bey is a man of education, keen in observation, and serious in his consideration of religious problems. Educated in Constantinople, he has travelled in various countries in Europe. In his travels he has studied the material, social and moral conditions of the districts visited, ever keeping in mind corresponding conditions in his own country (Turkey) for comparison. He became convinced that the *Ulema*—governmental officials and other educated leaders in the religious, social and intellectual circles—have absolutely failed in rendering the service that they should have rendered to the people of the country. There has been a semblance of imitation of European progress, but it remains a faint semblance, to grasp the meaning of which it is only necessary to contrast Paris or London and Constantinople to realize what five hundred years of Turkish domination means.

Yet the Turk is possessed of characteristics that would make for progress. He has manifested courage and prowess and industry. Why then has he not made progress? Why is he called the "sick man"? Ilhami Bey himself raises the question, and does not attempt himself to answer it in detail. There is a Turkish proverb, to the effect that one man can throw a stone into the well, but it will take

*I have put the report in the shape of a letter to you. I take it it is the situation and the idea of Ilhami Bey that you want—not the special shape in which I have put it.
W. N. C.

forty men to drag it out. If he can throw the stone in he indulges in the hope that it will arouse the forty men to investigation. "The probe must go deep in order to get at the source of the evil." "Why have the Turks failed to make progress?"

He confesses that his conviction, in harmony with many others, was that Islam was a powerful instrument in the hands of the Sultans for the progress and development of the country; but it was blocked by hindrances, such as the capitulations forced on Turkey by the European powers, and their interference in the affairs of the country. Though that interference was obnoxious and may have hindered in some respects it does not furnish an adequate reason for the lack of progress in so many things not affected by the capitulations at all. The fatalistic attitude, the satisfaction with things as they are, the absence of initiative, the lack of persistence in the execution of any enterprise, the lack of that stimulus necessary to success, seem to be characteristic of Islam. The question is not one of the comparative merits of Christianity and Islam. This is not an argument: it is the raising of a question; religion is an essential to a nation. Is Islam responsible for the backwardness of the Turks? This question should have serious consideration.

A glance at Turkish history shows that the absorption of the Turkish tribes was gradual. Toghrul Bey was not in his early career a Moslem. Even after accepting Islam they were not fanatical. The requirements of the religion were easy: the acceptance of one God, Allah, recognition of Mohammed as the prophet of Allah, and the performance of certain religious exercises. These conditions were very easy and would furnish the basis of the organization. This would become a common bond in connection with the levying of taxes, the building of prayer centres (mosques), the drafting of soldiers, etc., and Islam became the official religion.

In consideration of the question as to whether Islam

has benefited the Turk or not, there are three things to be considered:

(a) What has it done for the people who have remained in the tribal state—the nomads?

It is evident to all that the tribal conditions of six centuries ago persist to the present amongst those who live under tribal organization. No influence has been exerted in the bettering of social relationships, of purifying conditions of life, establishing community of spirit, and those things that make for higher civilization. Is this a question of race or climate, or is Islam responsible for it?

(b) Turning to the rural populations settled in towns and villages, it is seen that they are more given to religious exercises; they perform the *namaz* (prayer), keep the fast, go on pilgrimage in larger numbers, etc.: they are more consciously Moslem. But we shall find that the basal reason is to escape the "burnings of hell." The men have served in the army, are more amenable to control, and have a more definite idea of the religion of Islam than the people under tribal conditions; but illiteracy prevails, and there is a great lack of moral uplift. Consciences are undeveloped. Dishonesty, transgression of law and even crime, are matters of concern, not so much in themselves as in their detection. Avoidance of the effect of these things is a matter of moment. If escape from punishment becomes possible, the crime is of little account. Moral excellence is not of serious consideration. Benevolent action arises more from natural instinct than from religious impulse. Women are largely outside the pale of religion. Again the question arises, is this due to race, climate, or religion?

(c) The urban population in many places has taken on the semblance of culture, and conforms to many of the customs of European civilization; but the actual situation is no better as far as moral uplift and spiritual growth are concerned. In fact, city life is honeycombed with much of the worst of social immoralities, political corruption, business duplicity, and in the religious sphere,

materialism, infidelity, agnosticism, etc. The people are in the condition of a man in a tractless forest without a guide. Where there is religious conformity, it is on the ground that the formal performance of religious requirements covers the immoralities of life.

Religion should be a restraint, a guide, an inspiration—never a scourge. It should be a stimulus to intellectual activities, a deepening of the benevolent sentiments, a spur to awakened conscience, a guide to moral and spiritual growth. Islam lacks philosophic insight. It has not been a mental stimulus. It is neither a spiritual guide nor moral restraint in the midst of these evils. Does not the condoning of cruelty and massacre, as for instance in the case of the atrocities perpetrated on the Armenians, impeach Islam?

Virtue in Islam consists in scrupulous conformity with the religious forms and exercises. Of the five requirements only one is possible to any individual. Any one can repeat the creed, but it is not possible for every one to perform his *namaz* five times a day in perfect order, keep the fast, pay tithes, or perform the pilgrimage, as required. Inability to do these essential things breeds careless indifference which is deadening instead of life giving. It engenders moral obliquity.

Conquest cannot be considered as service to Allah. Had the Turk done less in the way of conquest and more in the material and moral development of the territory occupied, he might have profitably served his race and the world. But in this he has absolutely failed. Amongst the brain cells of the Turk the compartment of religion is empty. His future depends on the filling of that compartment of his brain with religious thought that is strong, restraining, inspiring for that which makes for moral and spiritual uplift, for development and progress. Can Islam do this?

A glance at his history. The claim is made that contact with the Byzantine civilization corrupted the Turk. If we study the history dealing with Islam, for the seven

hundred years previous to the advent of the Turk, we find this claim quite unfounded. The Turks have themselves to blame for their stagnation. They followed in the path of their predecessors. They have suffered and are suffering the consequences.

A glance at legal processes. The *Shari'at* (Sacred Law) does not secure justice or conserve the rights of the people. From the *Fatwa* there is no appeal, and it becomes in the hands of the religious officials a means of selfish ambition, and governmental oppression. It is more an instrument of oppression than protection. A notorious instance of this was the Fatwa given to Sultan Byazid in the field of Kossova, legalizing the murder of his brothers. The religious official was responsible for this and similar crimes.

Why should the Turk not stand strong against such things as the ambitions of the Sultans, the immoralities of Constantinople or the debaucheries of Europe? Because there was not virile strength and moral apperception enough in his religion to combat these things to any appreciable extent. There are two ways open to men: to struggle against evils and overcome them, or to become lethargic and indifferent to the havoc caused. The latter was the path taken by the Turk. It cannot be denied that he is a "sick man" and his malady is due to his religion.

A glance at the Khalifate. Has the Khalifate been of service to the Turk? The Turks were pastoral and had few ambitions when they came into Anatolia; but circumstances led them on to ambitious projects. They came into touch with Constantinople and began to covet it. Their ideas were not so much religious. Islam was only of secondary importance and only a means to an end. Massacres of both Moslems and Christians were political more than religious. Though the religious idea gradually grew, the great question was the conquest of Constantinople. Then, when Mohammed conquered and possessed Constantinople he was seized with the idea of becoming a world ruler, which idea he passed on to his suc-

cessors. To that end the Khalifate was a necessity, and Selim invaded Egypt and seized it for that purpose. The question was not so much Islam as yet, but conquest. Later the religious idea in connection with the Khalifate grew to larger proportions and became prominent.

Selim's invasion of Egypt cost him fifty thousand men—a great crime. The cruelty perpetrated was inhuman, though committed by a Moslem sultan against Moslems and against a Moslem ruler. It was a war for power, and so many of the faithful were slain—a sacrifice to ambition, a great disgrace. Why did Islam not prevent? Because it could not. It could only endorse. Selim, the first Ottoman Khalif, died as a morphine fiend. The influence of this on the common people must have been disastrous.

The successors of Selim went as far as Vienna. The Ottoman power rose to that point and immediately began to decline and has been declining ever since. It had not moral stamina enough to arrest the decay. Ottoman history is concerned only with the Sultanate; the nation is scarcely mentioned and there is manifest little or no movement or thought even for the betterment of the people as a whole. In the course of a few centuries some good influences for radical reform and permanent reconstruction should appear in the life of any people, but amongst the Turks none such do appear; the people exist for the Khalifate, not the Khalifate for the people.

The best thing for Turkey is to surrender the Khalifate, to work for regeneration, and to consider the way most suited for the proper development of the country and the peace and prosperity of the people. Great needs demand great deeds.

How can the Turks be freed from the present condition in presence of the Treaty of Peace? The Turks—not the people, but the ambitious demagogues and other leaders—were bound to the Germans and suffered with them. The Peace Treaty has been accepted. It is hard but beneficial. It would relieve the country from the crushing burden of armaments and many other things that

sap the life of a nation and retard progress. To make that progress possible what is necessary? The following four points are important and essential:

(1) Securing for the people the right and opportunity of untrammelled religious instruction.

(2) An effort should be made to develop a religious *entente*.

(3) Securing absolute freedom of conscience.

(4) The acceptance of a mandatory power to act in the interests of and be a guide for the government and people.

To accomplish this the Turks do not possess the religious instincts or traditions, much less the religious counsels or organizations necessary thereto. The Turkish sultans had no such ideals. They were as lions seeking territory to conquer and ever ready to spring forward to conquest. The Ulema and other leaders served the purpose of the Sultan without consideration of the people. The past six hundred years demonstrate that the Turks of themselves cannot make progress. The Magyars, the Roumanians, the Bulgarians and others, freed from Turkish domination, made advance. Compare Sofia and Adrianople—neighboring cities. If the Ulema, the Khojas and other leaders had been men of culture and education and serious and open-minded, they would have considered the needs of the country and would have introduced those changes necessary for the welfare and best interests of the people of the country in all phases of life. Six hundred years of this is sufficient. Now is the time to speak plainly. Now is the time to inaugurate those movements that will make for the peace and the best interests of all the people.

At this point of my interview with Ilhami Bey, I raised the question of ways and means. His answer was definite, with every mark of careful thought and appreciation of the seriousness of the situation that might develop. I give the gist of his reply, which might be considered as an appeal to the Turks.

Western Christianity stands ready to extend a helping

hand in accordance with the spirit and the broad basis of the teachings of the Messiah. What can be learned from history? For all these centuries glance at the history of India, Afghanistan, Persia, Arabia, Egypt, North Africa. Is there not demonstration enough that these Moslem countries have remained stagnant through all these centuries and why? Examine the physical, intellectual and moral and spiritual conditions. Injunctions against murder, robbery, intemperance, immorality, have been and are dead letters as far as the Turkish Sultan and other leaders are concerned. Turkish history recalls the lives of the Sultans, who are the heads of the religious communities. They have made the religion only a means to their own ambitions and the Ulema have been their servants. The common people have only been pawns on the chess-board in their game for conquest and domination by the house of Osman. Nothing has been done for the material, moral and spiritual reform and welfare of the people.

Is it not time for the Turkish race, possessed of excellent qualities that would make for progress if they had the opportunity and were properly led, to consider with deep seriousness this condition and seek a remedy? Open the windows and let in the light!

Must we not admit that Islam is too small a religion, too circumscribed, too formal? Must we not place the responsibility of our backwardness, and not only ours but the backwardness of Moslem lands, at the door of Islam? We are challenged for an answer. Should we not seek the reason in what appears to be the fact, that Islam does not furnish the high ideal, the inspiration to investigation, the desire for progress in the different phases of life, material, social and spiritual?

The holy Koran is in a language known to but comparatively few in the Moslem world; the repetition of its words, and other religious exercises enjoined, do not develop moral excellence, or, as history shows, an impulse for progress and human welfare. Is the assertion that the

Koran supersedes the Gospel tenable? Is it necessary that Allah should withdraw a revelation or substitute a different one already given? We recognize Jesus the Messiah of the Gospel as a prophet of God. Let us turn on what light He may give on the human problem. Let that stand which can give light and a lead.

Is it not a fact that what the Turk needs for his rejuvenation and progress is to be free from the incubus of the Khalifate and the granting of a free field to Western Christianity? Better that, with the preservation and rejuvenation of a race, than sealing its doom in the thralls of a religious system, that causes stagnation rather than progress, that has shown itself to be a burden rather than a help, that has been the cause of decay rather than a life-giving, inspiring power.

Should Moslems not consider whether Jesus the Messiah does not offer that which is necessary to the preservation of their right and furnish the ideas that would make possible growth in that righteousness which exalteth a nation?

* * * * *

This interview was exceedingly interesting to me as embodying the ideas that have occupied my mind for years. They set forth what appears to be the attitude of many thoughtful Moslems, and may well challenge the serious consideration of Western Christianity.

Yours very sincerely,

W. NESBITT CHAMBERS.

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DIRECT EVANGELISM IN INDIA

The direct central drive of my evangelistic work among educated classes throughout India has been the Hindu, the Moslem being touched more or less incidentally. However, in all the audiences I have addressed there have been quite a few Moslems, and in the after-meeting for questions the meeting has often taken a Moslem turn. I have even had prominent Mohammedans sign the notices that have gone out for the meetings as if they were calling the meetings, though they knew that I would make a frank open Christian appeal. And in most places we have at least one Mohammedan as chairman of the meetings in a series. And in the quiet talks between meetings I have sat face to face with many an earnest Moslem enquirer. I do not write as an expert on evangelism among Moslems, but as one who has touched it only while holding another objective. While this is true, I have felt that there are advantages in dealing with the Moslem in an atmosphere not his own. In a general meeting where one is making an appeal for personal, social and national regeneration the Moslem is lifted out of the petty controversy of texts and books, and the big things of life face him. He is therefore more reachable in that atmosphere than in his own.

I believe that there are tremendous possibilities for direct evangelism among Moslems in India, and they are being augmented by present tendencies.

1. There is a great revival of Mohammedanism in India taking place at the present time, but it has the elements of a kick-back in it. Before the war in the clash of ideas in India the Moslem, pushed by Christian ideals, felt called on to spiritualize away some of the grossness of

his own conceptions. *Jihad* was not a using of literal swords, but it meant a war against evil in the abstract, just as we call Christians to war. But an inrush of the old Mohammedan spirit has taken place since the war, and the old teaching stands out in its bare nakedness. In a recent court case for the trial of some Moslem fanatics, who had murdered a British official from sheer *Jihad* frenzy, the lawyer defending them pleaded that in murdering the *Kafir* they had followed the dictates of their own conscience and the precepts of their own religion, and could not therefore be punished. This is typical of the bare literalness that has swept over Moslem thinking in recent months. But in the soberer moments that are to come, this revival will be a source of embarrassment to the open-minded Moslem.

2. The Moslem has no reserve trenches as the Hindu. You may beat the Hindu from one intellectual position, and he seems to have an indefinite number of reserve trenches into which he can retreat. He can be almost a Christian and still be a Hindu, so elastic is his position.

But not so with the Mohammedan. He is one or the other, either rigidly against you, or, if you can succeed in beating him from that position, there is nothing left but to be for you. I have been surprised to find men who were absolutely opposed suddenly collapse in their opposition and be for you. The secret is that they had no reserve positions. And the point is that the present tendency to cast aside any attempt at philosophical reasonableness and go in for bare, naked Koranic literalness for the future moral, religious, social and political programme is a position that brings present revival, but future collapse. The whole tendency of the best elements in world life is against the position they are taking up. The fort of the Koran into which they retreat for their whole life stand may prove a strength for awhile, but a fort is a dangerous place of ultimate refuge.

3. The weight of modern conditions is going to be on Hinduism and Mohammedanism in the future as India is

given self-government. Hitherto the weight of things has been on the British Government, and these religions have sheltered up under them. Theirs has been a protected position. Now the weight of modern conditions will come straight on these religions. I believe it will smash them. They are not built for a democratic future. Lecky says, "There is only one example of a religion not subverted by its contact with modern civilization, and that one example is Christianity." It can live in a progressive, scientific age. Now progressive world currents will sweep through the Moslem world, and it will find its inherent weaknesses.

To illustrate: An earnest Moslem college student came to see me personally after the close of one of my addresses. He said, "Don't you think that Mohammedanism is also democratic?" "Yes," I replied, "very democratic toward Moslems. But does your democracy extend to man as man, or man as Mohammedan? What is its attitude toward the non-Mohammedan, is it democratic there?" He replied that he was "afraid it was not." Then he said, "Don't you think we could change it?" "Yes," I said, "You could, but when you got through it would not be Mohammedanism." Then he replied, "I have been thinking about this matter for a long time. Could we not put together Mohammedanism and Christianity and make them one?" I asked him how he would do it. He replied, "Christ lived a very high, noble, holy life, and He never married. Now Mohammed did marry, so I would suggest that we make Christ the theory of religion and Mohammed the practice." A splendid compliment! And one could scarcely get a more vivid contrast between the two religions: One stands for a call out of the lower into the higher, the *ought-to-be* standing over against the *is*, and asking it and helping it to come up higher, even to Christ; the other religionizes the lower *is*, and asks it to stay where it is, even at Mohammed. But the world is under the call of a higher, and cannot stay.

4. The Hindu and Mohammedan are just now violent-

ly attached, and united against the British. But it is a unity of a common object of hate. Herod and Pilate agree together. But the aims are divergent, one is national and the other is religious. The Moslem is agitating for the Khalifate, and the Hindu for self-government. When once the latter is given, the aims fall apart. The overmastering desire of each comes out, and they do not coincide. The Moslem is becoming violently attached to Turkey, the Hindu is for India. The Moslem is storing up a reaction from the side of the Hindus which is sure to come. That, too, will make his position in India more difficult.

5. But the greatest possibility for direct evangelistic work comes from the spiritual hunger brought on by this upset. If the above which I have written seems militant and outward, yet my method is otherwise. I do not attack them. When addressing them I present Christ openly, frankly, leaving them to draw conclusions of their own. And when one unfolds Christ, interpreted through Christian experience, it pulls upon the heart and conscience. This upheaval is creating a desire for a positive dynamic faith. With a constructive message at this time our opportunity is supreme. For when the facts of life are faced, there is no other way out except the Christ way. In an aftermeeting recently, when I asked those who would accept Christ to stay, among the forty who stayed there were about a dozen Moslem students. They were students who had been in the midst of the noncooperation movement with its intense excitement and bitter animosities, and yet here they were listening intently while I told them how to live this new life in Christ. Spiritual hunger was mastering them. In this moral and spiritual hunger created by these new conditions lies our opportunity. To get close to them with sympathy, courage and straightforwardness and present Christ interpreted through experience is our present task.

E. STANLEY JONES.

India.

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRADITION FOR THE STUDY OF ISLAM

At first sight there seems to be a great difference between Christian and Moslem tradition, for the latter professes to record the words and actions of the Apostle of Allah as they were handed down by the witnesses thereof to other authorities, who did the same in their turn, till the huge amount of material was collected and sifted by the authors, who embodied it in their books.

Moslem tradition is, however, a term which in Arabic is expressed not by one but by two words, *hadith* and *sunna*. The former denotes a communication or a tale, in our case the oral or scribal translation of the sayings or actions mentioned; the latter means "use" and "tradition," in our case the exemplar way in which Mohammed used to act and to speak. So *hadith* is the external, *sunna* the internal side of tradition; *hadith* is the form, *sunna* the matter.

Tradition, as to its form, is Jewish.¹ According to the Jewish conception the Law was revealed on Mount Sinai in a twofold form: one part was written down by Moses, the other was transmitted orally to the Elders, who transmitted it to the Prophets, and they in turn transmitted it to the Men of the Great Synagogue, who transmitted it to the Rabbis.

The question is, may Tradition, as to its contents, be styled, as it has been done, the table-talk of the Prophet, or on the other hand, can it be compared to Goethe's discourses with Eckermann? Neither, for two reasons. The first will be mentioned later; it depends upon historical considerations. The second is this: Tradition is not a fortuitous collection of sayings or of actions recorded; it is, as a whole, a systematic composition. It does not pur-

¹This was shown in detail in a recent article by J. Horowitz in *Der Islam*, viii, p. 39 ff.

sue a historical aim, it occupies the whole domain of Moslem life, the Moslem's ritual duties (*'Ibādāt*), civil law or transactions (*Muāmalāt*), criminal law and jurisdiction (*Hudud, Ahkam*), and the regulation of family life (Matrimony and Divorce). These are the four principal divisions and in this respect there is a close parallelism between Moslem jurisprudence and Tradition. There exist even collections of traditions—such as Malik's *Muwatta'* and the *Corpus Juris* of Zaid ibn Ali²—which are nothing but *loci probantes* for juridical purposes and which are divided in the same fashion as the law books are; they hold a middle position between the works of jurisprudence and the oldest canonical works of tradition. Yet it is not sufficient to study *Fikh* and to leave tradition alone with its endless repetitions and often contradictory statements. While jurisprudence limits itself to the four large divisions mentioned above, tradition has an important place; it tells you about the things of daily life, about eating and drinking, about the laws of social intercourse. It tells you also about Paradise and Hell, Resurrection and Judgment; it occupies itself with descriptions of the signs of the hour and the coming *Mahdi*. It dwells upon the dogma of Predestination, upon the vanity of the world and the worth of asceticism. It is, in short, a storehouse of Moslem views about nearly all Moslem topics, and as such it is a mirror of the Moslem mind.

II

The last statement seems to be incompatible with the attitude assumed by tradition itself. It traces itself back to Mohammed, or, in some cases, to one or the other of the Companions. It has indeed taken a long time until tradition could be designated as it has been done just now. For European scholars, though ever so critically minded, as a matter of fact did not consider the subject in a way principally different from that of the Moslems of all generations. They were aware of the fact that not all the

²Ed. Griffini.

sayings ascribed to Mohammed could be genuine. For, apart from their inner trustworthiness or non-trustworthiness, they often appeared to be of so contradictory a nature that no reasonable being could be believed to have uttered all of them. But these contradictions might be the work of later hands and so scholars started from the view that tradition was what it professed to be, apart from later additions. Dozy, in his book on Islam, states that the most rigid critics in his days (the book appeared in 1880) held at least half of *Bukhari's* traditions to be genuine. The radicals of the second half of the nineteenth century held the same position regarding tradition as nowadays the most timid Old Testament critics do regarding the authenticity of the Pentateuch.

It was exactly in the days of Dozy, that Biblical criticism reached the view that the Pentateuch is a receptacle of the consecutive juridic, theological and social views which prevailed among the people of Israel during the centuries of their life in Palestine. This wide-reaching hypothesis of Kuenen and Wellhausen regarding the books of Moses, was applied by Snouck Hurgronje and Goldziher to Moslem tradition. As far as I know it was Snouck Hurgronje who for the first time proclaimed his view in a study on the *Zakat* which appeared in 1882. I translate the remarkable passage from the Dutch original³: "Most of the Moslem institutions after the death of Mohammed had to go through an evolution, before they were settled as we now find them in the books of law. As the views of the leaders during the first century of Islam were far from being uniform, this evolution took place under much strife. When a matter had to be settled or a new regulation to be laid down, different interests clashed one with the other; pro and contra and warmly discussed and the vanquished party often did not wholly resign till after a long time. The weapons which both parties made use of, were chiefly traditions concerning the

³New contributions to the knowledge of Islam, in *Bijdragen tot de Taal, Land en Volkenkunde van Nederlandsch-Indië*, 1882, p. 357 ff.

way in which the previous generations, or still better, the Prophet himself, had settled the question. That none of the authorities (who nowadays are the saints of Islam) shrank back from fabricating traditions or from having them fabricated, was a public secret." In a study which appeared in 1886 this thesis was successfully applied to the traditions concerning the Mahdi,⁴ which were shown to consist of several layers reflecting successive political stages of the Moslem community. And in a review which appeared in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*⁵ in 1889 the view was expounded that the fabrication of traditions concerning the Prophet was a favorite literary mode of the post-Mohammedan centuries.

In the meantime Goldziher had been collecting his enormous material concerning Tradition, which was embodied in the second volume of his *Mohammedanische Studien*.⁶ These studies dominated nearly the whole field of Tradition and they carried the new view victoriously through the ranks of Semitic scholarship.

Goldziher's studies not only dealt with the evolution of Moslem Tradition, they also showed where its contents come from and contained highly valuable contributions to the knowledge of foreign influences upon early Islam. Here was a much wider field than the Koran and here it appeared that Christian Gospel teaching on a large scale had been woven into the sayings of Mohammed. Very instructive in this respect is the chapter on *Hadith* and New Testament (vol. ii, p. 382 ff.) where even a free redaction of "Our Father" was shown to occur in one of the canonical collections. The later collections are also largely filled with sayings of Jesus or what had currency under that designation. It is especially Al Ghazali who, more than others open to the rich spiritual culture of Western Asia, has preserved many of these sayings. They have been collected by the learned Spanish Orientalist, Don Mighel Asin.⁷

⁴*Revue Coloniale Internationale*, 1886, p. 25 ff.

⁵P. 64 ff.

⁶Halle, 1890.

⁷M. Asin et Palacios, *Logia et Agrapha Domini Jesu apud Moslemicos scriptores asceticos praesentim usitata* (*Patrologia Orientalis*, xiii fasc. 3).

But it is not only Christianity which has left its traces in Moslem Tradition. Well-known converts from Judaism—as Ka'ab al-Ahbar and others—converts or not, have handed down to the Moslems tales and legends, stories from the Old Testament and nearly the whole Jewish eschatology and cosmology.

Side by side with these Christian and Jewish elements, as a third constituent part of Moslem Tradition, has to be mentioned the current of ideas from Hellenism, which found its religious and philosophical expression chiefly in gnosticism and Neoplatonism. It was again Goldziher who pointed to such influences upon *Hadith*.⁸

III

There was a time when, in the European conception, the terms Islam and Koran were clearly synonymous because the Koran was considered as the only source of Moslem dogma and law. This conception went hand in hand with the belief that by the present Moslem as well as by previous generations the Koran was used in the same way as the Bible was by the Protestants. It was Professor Snouck Hurgronje, who in several studies which appeared chiefly between 1880 and 1900⁹ refuted this erroneous view. He showed that every Moslem has to follow the ritual school to which he belongs, without being allowed to extract personal views from the Koran. Islam proved to be truly Catholic in this respect. Moslem Catholicism (*Ijma'*) it is, which draws conclusions. And these conclusions are drawn not only from the Koran but also from the *Sunna* of the Prophet.

The *Sunna* as interpreted and canonized by *Ijma'* brings us back to the comparison between Christian and Moslem Tradition, and here the question of their identity has to be answered in the affirmative. Here again Islam goes with Catholicism, not with Protestantism, in so far as it acknowledges the authority not only of the re-

⁸Neuplatonische und Gnostische Elemente im Hadith (Zeits. f. Assyriologen, xxii).

⁹Especially *Le Droit Musulman* in the *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions*, 1896, p. 1 ff.; 174 ff.

vealed Divine Word, but also that of Tradition as canonised by the Church.

The process which brought about this juxtaposition of Koran and Tradition, is wholly perspicuous to us. Islam, from being a provincial community, within a short time became a universal religion and a political organization dominating half the civilized world. The Koran had propagated two central ideas—the coming Judgment and God's unity—and it had laid down a few statutes for the narrow community at Medina. Now Islam had to borrow from the submitted peoples and it borrowed eagerly: Roman and Jewish law, Christian ethics and asceticism, Hellenistic social and philosophical culture. All this was embodied in *Hadith* and so *Hadith* is the monument of early Moslem syncretism.

But it is more. Goldziher has elaborately shown¹⁰ that Tradition was also a weapon made for the opposite parties and factions in early Islam. This explains its self-contradiction in innumerable places. It is clear that these contradictory utterances teach the students of early Islam what the standpoints of the different parties were. So the knowledge of *Hadith* is one of the chief sources of what we would call the History of Dogma.

Those topics which lay out of the way of parties are elucidated in their evolution by our historical method. One example may illustrate this. In the chapter on Funerals we discern one layer of tradition pretending that Mohammed was shrouded in two pieces of cloth. There is a second layer that speaks of three shrouds. And there is a third which warns the Moslems against luxury in this respect and prohibits the use of any number exceeding five. Here tradition can be shown to reflect three successive funeral customs. The first layer is in accordance with the old Semitic way of dressing the dead in as many garments as the living used to wear (cf. the coat and cloak of Matthew 5:40). Probably under Jewish influence there originated a predilection for odd numbers in ritual

¹⁰ *Mohammedanische Studien*, ii p. 88 ff.

matters; the second class of traditions has been influenced by this current of thought. Finally we know from Syriac literature that funerals became ever more costly and luxurious; the fathers of the Syrian Church are combating this mode. Their views have influenced the third layer of traditions mentioned. This is a simple example. But it may show how our method, in combination with the knowledge of the Jewish, Christian and Hellenic world, becomes the clue to the evolution of Moslem ideas.

It is not amazing that the canonical books of tradition—especially Bukhari and Muslim—in the eyes of the community have acquired a rank nearly as high as the Koran. Oaths are sworn on a copy of Bukhari; at times of public danger or calamity the book is read in order to repel them; people speak of *Khatm al Bukhari* (finishing the reading of Bukhari) just as they speak of *Khatm al Koran*.

Bukhari and the other collections *live* in the Moslem community and he who thoroughly knows Tradition will understand Islam and the Moslem more easily. Tradition is a staff and a weapon for the Moslems even to this day. So it is equally important for the student of historical Islam as it is for him that has to live in Moslem countries. The Koran was made by Mohammed, tradition has been gathered and modelled by the Moslems themselves. Is this perhaps also an explanation of its having become so popular?

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THE FUTURE MISSIONARY

The object of this article is to advocate the view that in the future the chief aim of Foreign Missions, with due regard to existing work and without needlessly upsetting it, should be the raising up of leaders and workers from among the native Christians themselves,—in a word the building up of native churches; and that generally speaking this should be the task of the foreign missionary rather than direct evangelistic effort. There are good reasons for hoping that the solution of some pressing difficulties and problems will be found here. May it not well be that the shortage of men and means has been and is God's call to us to reconsider our methods? The principle is freely accepted that the evangelization of a country must ultimately be accomplished by natives of the country, but in practice we have not sufficiently kept this ideal before us, nor formed our plans with the definite object of hastening on this most desirable consummation.

Missionary platform appeals as a rule plead for more European laborers to cope with the work in hand and enter the open doors and embrace the countless opportunities that present themselves; whereas the plea should rather be for leaders, organizers and teachers to undertake the supremely important task of training the natives to do the work themselves and take advantage of the open doors. After all the earnest pleadings addressed to the Christian public for many years past to provide a larger supply of workers and means and the limited degree of the response, it is beginning to be felt and admitted that definite limitations in respect of both of these must be recognized. In fact, one may go further and say that there does not seem the slightest hope of European missionaries ever coming forward in numbers commensurate with the needs. But, let us not forget, this applies only to foreign mission-

aries and extraneous help, not to the resources of the native churches. Although these resources are in many cases small, there is practically no limit to them. Our task should, therefore, be to foster the native churches and help them in every possible way to develop the means necessary to cope with the work which is naturally and primarily their own and which in the last resort none but they themselves can successfully accomplish. It is unnecessary to point out, that if these things are so, they merit the earnest consideration of the leaders and supporters of missionary societies no less than of the missionaries themselves.

Direct evangelization by the foreign missionary is obviously necessary at the beginning of a mission. The first stage of such an enterprise is of course the gathering in of converts. Evangelists are needed for this; and they will naturally in the first instance be foreigners. The second stage is reached when a Christian community has been formed. Fresh problems then present themselves, such as the education of the children of the converts and the provision of pastors, evangelists and teachers—workers of all kinds, in short, to labor both among Christians and non-Christians. At this point the *direct* evangelistic efforts of the foreign missionary are not so much needed as in the first stage, provided that the necessary steps have been taken to induce sufficient numbers of the native Christians to choose work for Christ as their calling in life and equip themselves for it. His energies will be far more profitably employed in training and leadership. When the stage beyond this is reached and the native Christian community is in a position to provide not only workers of all kinds but also able spiritually-minded leaders to train them, then the foreigner may sing his *Nunc Dimittis*, and, committing the native church to the grace of God, seek fresh fields for his energies.

In the majority of missions the second stage has now been reached. The period when the direct efforts of the missionary were absolutely necessary because as a rule there

was no one else to carry the gospel message has passed. The old leading principles must, therefore, be modified and adapted to suit changed conditions. The sharp axe-head of Truth must now be fitted to the sturdy handle of native wood. The object to aim at is the equipment of the native rather than the direct touch of the missionary which we have been hitherto accustomed to look upon as essential. And as the native church grows and develops its powers and initiative the help of the foreigner, though still perhaps needed for a time, will gradually cease to be necessary. Even the risk of failures and disappointments should not prevent these ends from being kept steadily in view. We must not think in terms of days and years but in larger measures of time. As the first century of modern missions can show its glorious roll of missionary pioneers, in like manner the second ought to inscribe upon the history of missions a not less glorious list of independent, propagating native churches.

Here then lies the true vocation and inspiring ideal of the foreign missionary of the future. He must be the trainer of native workers, their friend and counsellor, their helper in the development and organization of the native church and its manifold activities, so long as his presence is needed. He will be ever on the watch to bring forward into the front line native brothers equipped and zealous for the Sacred Cause. It will be a standing rule with him before putting his hand to anything to ask "Cannot this be done by my native fellow-workers?" And even if they are not yet able to do it altogether as I should like to see it done, will they not soon be able to do so, if I teach them and show them how it ought to be done? And will not their work be far more acceptable and effective in the eyes of their fellow-countrymen than anything I could do, when once I have imparted to them all I know of fact or learning, method or plan, or whatever else the business in hand may require? When once the dignity and fruitfulness of this form of service are truly appreciated and the missionary realizes how many more will be effectively

reached and influenced through those whom he has trained than if he put his own hand to the work, the motives impelling to such service in the mission field will be not less powerful than the old call to preach the Gospel where Christ had not been named.

In any such development of the native churches it is of vital importance not to overlook the children and young people but to bring the highest and best influences to bear upon them before they choose their life work in the busy world. Much more must be done in this direction than hitherto. Thoroughly good schools for Christian boys and girls and young people must be more widely established. A sound and comprehensive education, secular and religious, should be given them up to the limit of their abilities to fit them for any and every honourable calling. Most important of all, they should be wisely encouraged to look upon direct work for God and their fellowmen as the highest service a human being can render and the utmost pains should be taken to train those who respond to the divine call. "Educate, educate, educate," is the cry that comes from a mass movement area. "No better work can be done in China than training Christian young men to heal the sick and preach the Gospel." Many workers in India feel that sufficient stress has not been laid hitherto on the training of Christian youth.

It is to such nationalization of missionary work and the drawing out of the latent capacities of the native churches that we must look for the relief of much of the present distress. If these aims are steadily and perseveringly followed, they ought in the course of years to go far to solve the double problem of workers and means. Not only will more native agents be raised up and the work be increasingly entrusted to them, but as the Christian community takes a higher position and increases in numbers and influence, the members will be better able to help the native church to support its own various agencies and arrive at a state of financial independence. They will moreover be all the more ready to do this when they see that the

Church is a genuine native growth. In brief, there will progressively be a decrease in the number of European missionaries required and an increase both of native workers and of the material resources of the Church.

If some explanation be demanded why these things if true have not been more fully recognized and acted upon in the past, it may be replied that this is partly due to lack of imagination which has acted in several ways closely related to one another.

First, the heavy handicap from which the foreign worker suffers has not been sufficiently understood. Everyone, of course, admits the difficulty of acquiring a thorough knowledge of the language of a foreign country and the power to enter into native habits of thought and look at things from their point of view. What is not grasped is how galling and humiliating it must be to educated and intelligent natives to be invited to write error upon their religious past and the faith of their forefathers, to consent to learn truth from foreigners who lightheartedly run counter to their ideas of ordinary propriety in endless ways, to place themselves under the spiritual guidance and control of men who are often much younger than themselves, not so well acquainted with affairs and men, and with far less experience of the world or at all events of their world than they themselves possess. Not so very long ago an intelligent Persian Christian speaking of the bigotry of Mohammedans said that even though they admit the good points of the European yet they consider all *Farangis* bad. Let us try to bring the point home to ourselves and ask, should not we be extremely loth to stultify our past, to own that we and our fathers for many generations had been mistaken and wrong, and submit in all matters affecting religion and conduct to the teaching, let us say, of a few Pacific islanders of excellent character but of strange manners and customs? All this is intensified at the present time by the rising tide of national consciousness and pride of race. The cleavage between Eu-

ropean and native is in truth deep and real and can only be abridged by Christ and by love to God and man.

Secondly, due weight has not been given to the great advantages possessed by our native brother in his freedom from all these disabling circumstances. When he addresses his fellow-countrymen, it is as one who is bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh, who shares their heritage in the past, and who, if he has voluntarily given up any part of it, should be supposed to have done so for what seemed to him good and weighty reasons, unless indeed he is to be considered merely a self-seeking hypocrite. He is moreover in constant touch with his countrymen in all the freedom of unrestrained daily intercourse and the unhindered interchange of thought and opinion, and is exposed to their freely expressed criticism—a position which the foreigner for various reasons perhaps never occupies. The tongue he speaks is his native language, and when duly qualified in other respects he can bear witness to the faith with an attractive persuasive force to which few Europeans ever attain. Though he may not possess his education and book-learning these minus items are far more than counterbalanced by his liberty of direct and easy contact with his fellow-countrymen, his intuitive comprehension of their thoughts and ideas, his ready access to their hearts and minds and his ability to appeal movingly and effectively to them.

Thirdly, have we not failed to recognize the fact that the gospel message must not only be imparted, but that too in the most attractive way? A thing does not always win immediate acceptance on its merits only and because of its intrinsic excellence. There is a lesson in commerce which should be taken to heart by all who are interested in the problem of presenting the Gospel to the adherents of other religions. It is not suggested, of course, that there should be any tampering with the truths of the Gospel or any softening or toning down which would make it "another Gospel." St. Paul becomes all things to all men, but sternly rejects the introduction of any "different Gos-

pel." Scripture truth in its blessed fulness is the only thing which can successfully meet the needs of sinful men and women. But it is not enough for the teacher or preacher to be convinced that the truth he has to proclaim is intrinsically and relatively excellent. Tact and judgment, wise discernment and discrimination, are also needed. The truth must be presented in the most winning and attractive manner, and that can only as a rule be done by natives of the country spiritually and intellectually competent for their work, who from their very hearts accept, and in the open epistles of their lives consistently inculcate, the doctrines they preach. The old gospel message will as ever win its way when fully and faithfully declared by those, whether natives or Europeans, whose devoted Christ-like lives are a living and eloquent testimony to the power of the truth. The presentation of Christ that is to win people of any country or religion to faith in Him is the discovery of fresh aspects of truths ever illustrated afresh by the constraining love of Christ and the transforming power of His Spirit as seen in the lives of those who profess to follow Him.

It is earnestly to be hoped that the whole situation will be carefully examined and that missionary leaders at home and in the field will seriously consider the question of preparing the way as soon as possible and as far as possible for employing qualified native Christians to do work for which foreign missionaries have hitherto usually been considered indispensable. Surely it is this to which God has long been calling us and now more urgently than ever. No fixed scheme can be devised applicable to all missions: the application of the general principles will naturally be as varied as are the nature and conditions of the work and the various stages of its growth. It is possible, however, to give effect to approved principles without ruthlessly breaking with the past or destroying the healthy continuity of work.

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THE 'ALEVIS

A religion different from Islam, centering about the person and teaching of 'Ali, the adopted son of Mohammed, is slowly gaining ground in certain sections of Turkey. The believers are called 'Alevis both by themselves and by the Moslems. The name Kizil Bash, which means Red Head, and is often used as a term of reproach, is said to have originated at the battle of Siffin (A. H. 37); 'Ali said, "Tie red upon your heads, so that ye slay not your own comrades in the thick of the battle." In Persia the community has commonly been regarded as a sect of Mohammedanism.

The object of this study is to investigate the true nature of this faith and to consider the relations of the 'Alevi brotherhood with Islam and Christianity. The information has been gathered through a series of conversations with a well-known teacher.

The major portion of this article has appeared in *The Harvard Theological Review*, July, 1909. In the *Contemporary Review*, November, 1913, a most interesting monograph by Dr. George E. White appeared under the title "The 'Alevi Turks of Asia Minor." He traces many of the 'Alevi rites and beliefs to pre-Mohammedan and pre-Christian paganism. He brings out the fact that the large Bektashi dervish order is of the 'Alevi faith. He describes the sacramental meal at which 'Alevi believers, men and women, "partake of bread and wine together." This, he adds, is probably a perverted celebration of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper.

Prof. Edward G. Brown, of Cambridge University, and other writers, have referred to the Persian 'Ali Ilahis, yet no thorough study of their beliefs has been made.

In the spelling of Islamic words I have followed Turkish, not Arabic, usage.

The extreme reticence of most 'Alevi makes a free conversation possible only after long acquaintance. But the estimates of 'Alevi population have tallied closely with those made by a Christian physician of wide experience. This community began during the life of 'Ali, but has not grown to large dimensions until recent years. The teachings have always been secret, and there has been no authoritative book to make known in written form what is handed on from believer to believer.

Let us then inquire as to the Person and Mission of 'Ali. There are four kinds of men in relation to him. First, those people who think 'Ali the worst sort of a tyrant, especially the Jews of these Eastern regions, who curse one another by him, and regard him almost as Moslems do Satan. Second, the orthodox Moslems, or Ahl-i-Sunnat, who call him the fourth caliph. "'Ali, the wise and virtuous among men," they say. Third, the Shi'ahs, who believe that 'Ali performed all miracles, thousands of which are narrated, and that he was appointed successor and executor to the prophet. Fourth, the 'Alevi, who regard 'Ali as the spirit existing in all prophecy and as the incarnation of God.

"Do the 'Alevi believe in atonement?" "Yes, in the sense of intercession through 'Ali." "Not through Jesus?" "Yes; because 'Ali is essentially the same as Jesus." "Were Hasan and Husein martyrs?" "The Shi'is believe that atonement may be hoped for through these martyrs, especially through Husein. But the 'Alevi believe directly through 'Ali's life. Not by his life so much, nor by his death, nor by his testimony; but by his person, his spirit. He also died a martyr's death. He had a great truth and a great hope, for which he died. There was no desire for personal renown. He was the holy incarnation of the Spirit of God."

"Have you no written life of 'Ali?" "We have manuscripts of great value, which are cherished like gems, sel-

¹Dr. G. E. White remarks that the 'Alevi affirm that He who was revealed to Christians as Jesus was revealed to them as 'Ali.

dom sold, and are not given to any but 'Alevi.' "How are these procurable?" "Only by becoming an 'Alevi. There are about fifteen different books, all in manuscript. The first group gives 'Ali's teachings and is wholly made up of his own words. The second narrates his life as lived among his disciples. The third is composed of the praises and honors of those who came after him and loved him. These books are not trusted to every disciple. They are for the '*Urefa*, those who are thoroughly acquainted with the mysteries of our religion. The books are never trusted to the publicity of any printing press. You will understand that 'Ali established a new religion if you consider his definition of a Moslem: 'A Moslem is he who by his hand and tongue is true.' "

The genesis of this religion was with 'Ali, thirty years after the commencement of Islam. He did battle to defend his rights. He chose from the people the most able and suitable men. These he formed into the Special Council. Later he formed the General Council, consisting of all the men who followed him. There is a section of the 'Alévis known as Nuseiri. They are chiefly in Persia, but a great many are in the villages of Antioch. Nuseir, one of 'Ali's pupils, said to him, "Thou art God," and 'Ali accepted this avowal.

In the course of history three men rendered conspicuous service in the spread of the faith. Seyyid Jelal-ed-din, being Veli-Ullah, was of the descendants of 'Ali. He lived about A. H. 660 (A. D. 1261/62), and during his lifetime converted a great proportion of the Magians and many of the Shi'is. He was the founder of the order of Jelali dervishes, which has ever since continued to teach and promote his convictions.

Haji Bektash Veli was born about A. H. 730 (A. D. 1329/30) in the city of Nishabur. He was the son of Imam Riza, and a direct descendant of 'Ali. When he journeyed into Ottoman territory, he brought the 'Alevi faith for the first time into Asia Minor. He lived to see five hundred converts; and before his death, near the city

of Angora, instituted the order of dervishes which is known as Bektashi. The members of this order are all of his faith, and they earnestly preach this teaching as they go about the country. Celibacy is the rule of this order.

The third historic character was neither ascetic nor preacher. Shah Sefi Sultan was the first 'Alevi to sit upon the throne of Persia.' He brought about a renaissance of the faith after the cruel persecution by the Afghan conquerors. Four 'Alevi Shahs followed him, among them Shah Abbas. But since then Sunnis and Shi'is have been upon the throne. Shah Sefi Sultan sent criers out upon the highways to witness for 'Ali and to redeem the down-trodden cause. He succeeded in bringing great honor to the name of 'Ali, and throughout his reign proved himself a just and noble shah.

The geographical centre of this religion² is in the town of Kirind, Kermanshah province, Persia. Four of 'Ali's male descendants now reside in Kirind. They are by name, Seyyid Berake, Seyyid Rustem, Seyyid Essed Ullah, Seyyid Faraj Ullah. Seyyid is correctly said only of 'Ali's descendants. These men send representatives throughout Asia Minor and northern Syria for preaching and for the moral training of their followers. All gatherings are very secret, no inquirers being admitted except by the most reliable introductions.

In Arabia and Egypt this faith has scarcely made any progress. But in Persia and Mesopotamia there are from one to two million 'Alevis.³ There are about fifty thousand in the province of Aleppo, but none south of the city of Aleppo. In the Adana, Diarbekir, Smyrna, Salonica, and Cæsarea provinces there are tens of thousands. Haji Bektash, where descendants of 'Ali live, eighteen hours from Cæsarea, is an important point. Constantinople is not a centre, but in Macedonia and Albania a large por-

²Dr. G. E. White considers that Hadji Bektash near Kir Shehir between Angora and Cæsarea is the true shrine and headquarters for Turkish and Albanian 'Alevis:

"Kerbela may receive more reverence from its associations with the family of 'Ali but Kerbela is too far away to serve the 'Alevi of Asia Minor. His spiritual center is Hadji Bektash.

³Dr. White estimates that a majority of the Kurds are of this faith. It is probable that the Kurdish race numbers three million.

tion of the population have become disciples. In the city of 'Aintab there are about five hundred 'Alevi homes and two thousand individual believers. In Antioch there are scarcely any, except for the Nuseiri villages. The villages of Mar'ash and the town and region of Albustan should be specially mentioned. In the Suruj plain the people are Sunnis. Most of the 'Aintab villages are Sunni, as Burj and Kuzul Hissar. Kuchdam is chiefly Yezidi. But beyond Sazghun to the south are many 'Alevi villages centering around Kharar. The population of the Kilis country is chiefly Arab and unfriendly to outsiders, but the tent-dwellers are 'Alevi. In Birejik about one hundred and fifty of the Turkish people belong to this faith. In the city and villages of Urfa there are few; in Aleppo few; in Antioch perhaps two hundred houses. The most thoroughly converted district is that of Dersim, in the Erzingan vilayet. The length of this district is fifteen days' horseback ride. This is the home of the Kurds.

ESSENTIAL TEACHING CONCERNING PROPHECY. In the world there is one Truth. This Truth possesses great power. There is no power existing greater than this. The Power is in itself, not dependent upon any person. All other existing things get their light and might from this one truth. This Power "doeth what it wisheth and judgeth what it willeth."

Nothing can attack and overturn this Power. In the process of time the Power brought to light the charges and commandments that were necessary for that period. For instance, in the time of Moses what was necessary for the people was said by 'Ali by means of Moses.

"Then you believe in the preexistence of 'Ali?" "Yes, indeed." "Have you considered the statements in the Gospel of John, in the first chapter, regarding the preexistence of Christ?"

"We are aware of the similarity. Since the world began until the present day, however many prophets have invited the people to the truth, all these have taken their office from 'Ali, every one inviting separately, in form to

himself but in meaning to 'Ali. The commander being one, however much the officers differ in degree, their meaning and duty⁴ is one. Because all the prophets invite to one truth, they cannot be differentiated essentially. From the time of Adam to the time of Mohammed all the prophets must be one, though in name they are different. Each prophet teaches a new lesson by a new method, and each prophet is higher than the preceding ones. As 'Ali is preexistent, so he is even now existing and manifested and known⁵ to his people. To those not his people he is veiled, covered.⁶

"How is he manifested to his own people?"

"By the Holy Spirit's influence. So much for the present as to the means of manifestation."

"Do the 'Alevis accept the Holy Spirit's personal influence?"

"Yes. But this needs a free and full discussion. If we understood the question of the Holy Spirit, other difficulties would naturally solve themselves."

The teacher illustrated his own conviction about the Holy Spirit as follows: "The Holy Spirit is as the light which shines into a room, the sun itself not being visible. But you cannot say that the light which we enjoy is the sun itself; it is only a result."

THE PREEXISTENCE AND SURVIVAL OF HUMAN PERSONALITIES. "At every time that the First Point appeared, we like a circle came around him."

The true servants of Jesus are identical with those who came faithfully to Moses' call. Jesus rebuked the Pharisees because they had disobeyed Moses. By this rebuke he meant that they had also lived in Moses' time and had disobeyed Moses then. There is in this connection a term used only among 'Alevis: Active Return.⁷ If you live the life of Paul, never mind your distinct name, you are none other than Paul. You continue his life. There are, then, hundreds of Pauls. His life has multiplied. He has many spiritual children. Observe what he says re-

⁴wazifah. ⁵makshuf, ma'lum. ⁶mastur. ⁷raj'at fi'li.

garding Onesimus in the letter to Philemon, "I beseech thee for my son Onesimus whom I have begotten in my bonds." You are finishing the actions that others began. The action never dies. Therefore the man cannot die. Your true nature is not your bones and flesh, but the good action which is immortal.

CONCERNING IMMORTALITY. This world has another. This life is to the next as a drop to the ocean. But in this world whatever is gained in good deeds is not gained for this world, but for the next. Here is only the planting; there is the harvest. Man suffers no death. There is only a change of life. Heaven is not a particular place. But wherever believers live is heaven, even on this earth. And wherever godless men live is hell, here or hereafter. What mean the good deeds done in this life? As the child in his mother's womb knows not the use of eyes, ears, and mouth, but is growing stronger all the time, so there will be a use, made clear to us later, of all good actions done.

THE MANIFESTATION OF GOD. The Moslems describe Allah by negatives, by denial of members and all human notions. 'Alevi describe God by positive attributes and by the great teaching of incarnation. God exists in his sovereignty (*mulk*). For this a body (*jasad*) is necessary. At no time has the face of the earth been empty of God. So now he is existent. And he will always be in the world, not in any imaginary sense, but in a literal sense. Every fully initiated 'Alevi has seen the incarnate 'Ali, has talked with him in question and answer regarding the so-called "unanswerable" questions of life; has touched him, seen him, and with his every sense realized 'Ali's existence and presence. The object of this manifestation is to bring all men into the truth of God.

"What is the condition of thus interviewing the divine Incarnation?"

"The condition is hard, and the process of preparation takes a long time—seven or eight years of regular service and learning of the essentials. Then, if the seeker proves himself fit, he may be received as a member by the Dede

from Dersim and hence by all 'Aleviis. In this probation time he cannot have any direct relation with 'Ali, that is he can never see him or learn from him."

"Can the believer meet with 'Ali when he wills?"

"No. Not at his own pleasure, but at 'Ali's. The time and place are never known beforehand. It is not a condition of trance. It may be when a believer is alone or when he is with other disciples, but never when strangers are present. No 'Alevi can bring about such a vision, but 'Ali may will it at any time."

"Tell me more about this."

"Beyond this they would beat me if I told you."

"What is the difference between the doctrines of the Hidden Mahdi and this?"

"We believe that, although the Mahdi, Mohammed, and Messiah are different in name and body, they are one in light and truth. But we have no faith in those who, during the past century have claimed to be the Mahdi."

PRIVATE AND PUBLIC WORSHIP. Among the 'Aleviis prayer forms a part of both private and public worship. The prayers are not formal, nor appointed to be said at fixed times and at fixed places. Nor must they be preceded with preliminary washings.

"In the Koran are not all believers bidden to wash hands and arms to the elbows and to anoint the head and wash the feet?"

"'Aleviis are aware of that command, but it is not binding for them. Our prayer is spontaneous; we believe in intercessory prayer, and we have no ceremonial or formula."

"Does the reading of any holy book form a part of your worship?"

"We respect and study the five sacred books of Abraham, Moses, David, Jesus and Mohammed. But we do not depend upon them. Our teaching is from believer to believer and from father to father."

"Do you believe in the confession of sin?"

"To God Most High."

"Do you believe in sacrifice?"

"Not like the sacrifice of the Month of Pilgrimage, when all Sunni Moslems must offer one animal. Our duty is once in a lifetime, when the Dede comes on his circuit. The Pirs, or Dedes, are our honored teachers. The throat of the lamb or of the kid must be cut by the Pir himself."

"What is the object of this single sacrifice?"

"First, a remembrance of the offering of Ishmail by Abraham when God provided the ram. Second, to feed the poor, to whom portions are always given."

"What do you understand by self-sacrifice?"

"Suppose we are four hundred 'Alevis in a town. Any one will suffer, even to the death, for any other of the brotherhood or for confession of his faith. In the early days of our faith there were hundreds who suffered martyrdom."

"Do you have places of congregation corresponding to mosques and churches?"

"We have no such buildings, but groups of believers meet for worship regularly in private homes. God is more holy than the temple. He lives in the inner life of man. It is better to send to persons in need the moneys that would go for mortar and stone. We have congregations, however, to the membership of which only those approved by the Dede from Kirind may be received."

"Who are your leaders and teachers?"

"Our Khojas have no religious function. They are the teachers of day-schools. There are local Dedes and those who travel from Kirind throughout all these countries."

"What is the form of service?"

"We gather in councils for the remembrance of 'Ali's teachings, for reading from the Law, the Psalms, the Gospel and the Koran, for interpretation and prayer, and for conversation about the love of God and about brotherly love. There are no public sacrifices like those of the ancient Hebrews, but at the private sacrifice many believers are naturally present. We observe the fast of Muharram

'Ashura, which lasts ten days. During that time one may eat lightly once in three days; if that is impossible, once in twenty-four hours; if that again proves impossible, once in twelve hours. The object of the fast is meditation and purification."

SOCIAL CONDITIONS. "Do you differ essentially from the Sunnis regarding marriage?"

"There is no command concerning polygamy in 'Ali's teaching. Our custom is that a man shall have one wife. In case of a wife's becoming insane or incapable of taking care of the household, a second wife may be taken. But never more than two. We hold no slaves, and believe that that unjust practice will finally be done away with."

"Do you believe that the system of polygamy is coming to an end in Islam?"

"That would require another Mohammed."

"What is woman's position among the 'Alevis?"

"In spirit and love there is no distinction between man and woman. They are equal in that sense. In intellect and management, whichever is uppermost and best, the command is his or hers. For instance, it may be that a ruthless, good-for-nothing man marries a capable, noble woman. Mind manages the world today. 'Alevis have no purchased slaves. That is accounted wrong. But slaves that have been taken in war or raid may be so used, though this has not happened often in modern times. We believe in educating our daughters. We have not any right to command our wives, for example, about veiling. The right is wholly left to the women. But the strict usage of this country compels them to veil like other women. 'Ali said to Husein, 'When abroad, respect and obey the customs of the country.'"

"Then is it ever right to lie, as suggested in one of the traditions of the prophet?"

"The tradition is false, as are many others. A father once taught his son ten thousand traditions, and when the young man with infinite patience had memorized them all, the father said: 'Now these are the false ones, be-

lieve anything else you please!' But to deny among ignorant or mocking people our being 'Alevi is not falsehood."

"Do the 'Alevi ever persecute for religious reasons?"

"There is no slavery in our faith. I may become a Magian or a Christian as I please. This is natural. We have left Islam: why should we not be free?"

"How are the orphans, the sick and the poor cared for?"

"Privately in our homes."

"Do you believe in *Jihad* or in any war?"

"We believe in the inner war with the *kafirs* (infidels) that are in our hearts. 'Ali said: 'It is better for you to die in trying to subdue your will, than for you to kill any one in the attempt at coercion.' We believe in war only as self-defence. But we believe thoroughly in self-defence rather than in turning the cheek to him who strikes."

RELATIONS TO JESUS CHRIST AND THE NEW TESTAMENT. "Do the 'Alevi accept the incarnation of Jesus?"

"Not in the sense that he is the only incarnation, nor in the sense that he fully succeeded in showing men the character and nature of God. He had this divinity, but men could not perfectly appreciate it, and cannot to this day. In the sense that the Son of God or God Himself entered human life as Jesus of Nazareth and lived His divine life in Palestine, we do believe in the Christian incarnation. We frequently speak of Jesus as the Son of Man, or the perfect man; we also speak of Him as the Son of God."

"Do you accept the crucifixion and the death of Christ?"

"No. Because Jesus was an immortal spirit and could never be put to death."

"But His body?"

"Yes. But that did not contain His personality. The oppression of Jesus was greater than that of other prophets, and His humility was greater than theirs. God loves self-sacrifice, and therefore the intercession of Jesus is reckoned by God more worthy than that of the other prophets. Jesus is preferred above all who came before

Him, because those who preceded Him could not declare the word which He declared. But in their surrender to the will of God each in some way suffered by the people. For example, Hud, Salih, and Noah."

"Do you believe in the resurrection of Jesus?"

"This is a point of great difficulty among us. The spirit after it has separated from the earthly body cannot reunite. We do not feel obliged to accept what we do not understand; but we do not deliberately deny the resurrection."

"Do you regard the New Testament as inspired of God?"

"Yes."

"Equally with the Koran?"

"We believe in five equally inspired books: Suhuf (revealed to Abraham, and now extant in Mesopotamia), Tevrat, Zabur, Injil, Koran.⁸ We regard the books of Job, Samuel, Isaiah, Jeremiah, and so forth, as of a lower order."

"Do you believe in the annulling of previous revelations?"

"In fundamentals, no. In ramifications, yes."

"What is your expectation regarding Christianity?"

"The two faiths will unite at the point of justice, each relinquishing extreme positions."—"What about the Sunnis?"—"They are far behind! Their affair is certainly hard. They are very far off from such a union."—"What do you understand by the words of Jesus, 'There shall be one flock and one shepherd'?"—"These words are the essence of civilization. Unity is the final desire of God for us. The world is in childhood and has not yet self-control. The world does not yet comprehend the will of God."

REGARDING THE SYSTEM OF ISLAM. "Do the 'Aleviis regard the Hajj (the pilgrimage) as binding?"—"Not at all."—"Do they feel bound to give the Zekyat (the legal alms)?"—"No."—"Do they perform the Namaz (the

⁸ I. e. The Books of Abraham (Koran 87. end), the Law (Torah), Psalms, Gospels (Euangelion), Koran.

prostration) ?"—"No."—"Do they keep the fast of Ramadan?"—"No."—"Do they make the saying of the Creed a condition to faith?"—"No."—"Do not the Shi'is keep these 'five pillars' of Islam?"—"Yes, with certain modifications."

REGARDING MOHAMMED. "Do you accept any one book like the *Siyer-en-Nebi* as a standard biography of Mohammed?"—"No. But we have our own accounts of his career and prophetship. We believe in him as the last of the five great prophets. We look upon him as intercessor. And in the same way we regard all the holy prophets. But the real wisdom and justice of decision is with God."

"Is Mohammed final?"—"Yes, in the sense that he is the seal of the prophets."—"Did he predict or appoint 'Ali?"—"Yes, in the desert at a great assembly. After Mohammed's death, for practical reasons, the Moslem convocation agreed 'to set aside the impetuous and high-spirited 'Ali for the mild and conservative Abu Bekr.' "

"What do you consider the historical relations of 'Ali and Mohammed?"

"Their fathers were brothers. Afterwards 'Ali became Mohammed's son-in-law. He was the first believer. He was appointed to become the first caliph."

"Do you regard the revelation through 'Ali as the last word of God to men?"

"You should not say 'first and last.' The same spirit is through all, just as in the days of the week there is really only one day, but the names are different. If you unite the lives of the prophets, then the 'Alevis agree with you. If you disintegrate and differentiate, then you will fall out of sympathy with us."

CONCLUSIONS. 1. Here is a religion other than Islam, recognizing and accepting Mohammed.

2. The religion has for its centre, not a shrine, but a missionary movement. And the movement is not declining.

3. The intimate relation with Persian and Turkish classic poetry, especially with the *Mesnevi* of Mevlana

Jelal-ed-din Rumi should not be overlooked. In other words, the mysticism and pantheism of the Orient are here found, not as literary theories or philosophies, but as the elements of a religion with which increasing multitudes are seeking to satisfy the yearnings and instincts of the soul.

4. A fundamental difference and separation from Islam exists in the belief in incarnation. Turkey is being stirred, notwithstanding monarchy and caliphate and Sunni traditions, by as radical a movement as Indian Islam has known.

5. The exaltation of ethics over formalism is proved by the abrogation of "the five pillars."

6. The respect and liberty which are to be accorded to women among 'Alevi are largely unrealized because of the environment of Mohammedan law and custom.

7. This may be regarded as the dominant faith of the Kurdish race. There is, however, a large body of Sunni Kurds.

8. By their own confession 'Alevi are closer to Christianity than to Islam. They expect an eventual compact with Christianity but not with Sunni Mohammedanism.

9. They accept the New Testament. But how can they do this and consistently hold to the Koran as equally inspired? Their thoughts are fragmentary and imperfectly developed.

10. There are scarcely any missionaries who are giving their first attention to winning these people to Christ. Yet the 'Alevi are most hospitable and approachable. They are not bound by the rigid system of Islam.

Do not the facts recorded above constitute a strong call to missionary consecration and resolve? Christ is today among the 'Alevi half-unveiled, half-understood. Shall we not lead them to behold Him upon the cross, the only Son of God, the only Saviour?

STEPHEN VAN RENSSELAER TROWBRIDGE.

Cairo, Egypt.

METHODS OF EVANGELISM IN ARABIA

The object of this paper is to make a study of direct evangelistic methods in distinction from the indirect or educational and medical. The discussion will, therefore, apply only to the evangelistic department of our missionary work, examining the methods used hitherto and showing where in our opinion, these might be improved. The Sunday service is the preacher's great opportunity. But are we conducting these services to suit the needs of the Arab? Most of us are afraid to introduce or have never thought of introducing any sort of innovation to suit the Oriental, and have simply followed the customs in vogue in the West, with a sort of feeling that our church polity and our church furniture are ordained of God. Many of our prayers in church are unintelligible to the average Arab because they are too long, too vague and too involved. I think our prayers should abound in the exalted names of God, of which the Moslem is so fond. The Bible is full of such names as well as the Koran. Three short prayers are better than one long one. The missionary should not be afraid of repetition, either in prayer or in preaching. Repetition is the secret of Islam's success today. The prayer call remains the same day after day; the first chapter of the Koran is repeated five times or more daily, and it is only by constant repetition that the Arab boy or girl ever learns to read the Koran. The Arab has no aversion to hearing a story time and time again. In Muscat we sing the same hymns in church week after week, so that the most illiterate gets not only the tune but also the words. The full significance of the words may not be grasped, but they may nevertheless be the beginnings of fuller knowledge later on.

With reference to the place of our Sunday services,

Kuweit station proves without much doubt, that a place in the bazaar, easy of access, guarantees an audience. An up-stairs room, to my mind, is wholly inadequate. Although the Arabs are not unaccustomed to upstairs rooms, none to my mind are used for religious purposes. Few men and yet fewer women are likely to come upstairs without an urgent invitation from the missionary. They will not "drop in," when the room is upstairs. In Muscat our plan is to try the book shop for an afternoon service. A few hymns on the organ will draw the crowd, and then at the right moment a message can be driven home.

A necessary element in our methods of evangelistic work should be the Sunday school. But this has been very poorly developed in Arabia. In all Moslem lands the number of children in the Sunday school is only 50,000, of which the vast majority are Copts, Greeks and Armenians. In the Philippines alone the Sunday school has an enrollment of 60,000. If it is true what a Japanese missionary says, that "We cannot hope to win more than one in 10,000 of the adults, but we can do anything with the children," it will be equally true of Arabia. If Ziegenbalg, who came to India one hundred years before Carey, felt that, "In order to do something durable among the heathen, it is necessary to teach the young," have we any reason to expect that this is not the case with the Moslems as well? Our prodigious task is how to get the boys and the girls in the Sunday schools. It cannot be said of Arabia, as Trowbridge says of Egypt, that "most of the students in the government schools in Cairo have abandoned the five essential daily prayers and the strictly enjoined ceremonial ablutions," nor that "the Kuttab has failed and is no longer interesting." However, is it not possible for us to gather in the Sunday school the very boys and girls we teach in the day schools? In Egypt the day school teachers are asked by the pastor or the missionary to take the Sunday school classes, with the result that the atmosphere and methods on Sunday are almost identical with the week-day work. Trowbridge tells us,

that "the early missionaries in Egypt opened Sunday schools in private houses, and in practically every preaching place, and in many cases the work branched out in villages and cities where the church is not yet established."

As for our scripture sales, statistics show that these are counted in thousands. Statistics, however, are but a small indication of the value of these sales. If you look into the early records of the mission, you will see that the sales were more, in some places, than they are now. No doubt many of these were not bona-fide sales, for the colporteur having more regard for his reputation in the mission than love for the Arab, often reported large sales and paid the money from his own pocket. But the greater reason, to my mind, why sales were large in the early years, was that people knew nothing of the Gospel, and a bookseller in the Gulf was a great novelty. Since then people have read the Book, and seen that its teaching differs from that of the Koran; and those who have not read it know from their leaders that the Bible is a dangerous piece of literature. I know this is true in Muscat and Mutra. It is not difficult to sell books to visitors from the Mekran coast, who do not yet know what the Bible teaches, and whose minds have not yet been poisoned. But to sell one to men of either of these cities is a problem. How are we going to make the Bible sales more valuable and effective than they have been so far? Hitherto there has been promiscuous and indiscriminate selling. This, I am convinced, is a mistake. It is better to make a friend than to make a sale. The former will produce the latter, but not *vice versa*. If a man looks angry and cross, why insult him by offering him a Gospel? His anger and fanaticism will only increase, and it may do the cause infinite harm. Salesmanship is but a small part of the colporteur's job. The object is not to make a sale or to get rid of a Book, but to place it. After a sale the impression should be left in the purchaser that he got something good; not that he accepted a book simply to please the colporteur. If the latter impression is left, the Arab will not care to see the

bookseller again. This matter of placing the Scriptures well can best be done by the missionary himself. Knowing that there is no love between the Arab and most Oriental Christians, and having seen how hopelessly inefficient our colporteurs have been, there seems no other alternative but that the missionary become his own colporteur. Far fewer sales will be made in that case. But five sales well placed are worth hundreds scattered indiscriminately. In Muscat I have sat in coffee shops with pockets full of Gospels and tracts, never trying to pull them out to make a sale. I saw it was not the time for Gospels and tracts; people looked suspicious and I wanted to make sure of a welcome the next time. Still at other times it was found easy to distribute tracts and sell portions of Scripture in that same shop. It is indeed a great comfort to know that "My word shall not return unto me void." But we must really impart a blessing to every Arab that buys a book, before the transaction is actually done.

As methods of evangelistic work, house visiting and touring should not be neglected. Here the advice Dr. Zwemer gave me many years ago with regard to visits, may well be remembered by us all. It is, "Get Christ in somewhere." I have observed some visiting that may be considered useless, just because Arabs got the idea that missionaries are men interested in the affairs of the political world, and not that Christianity was their main business.

A method that has not been tried very extensively in Arabia is village evangelization. I do not see why it should not be tried and why it should not bring great results in time. It has been one of the great factors in India. Having the mission station as his centre, the missionary could make weekly visits to the villages in the circumference. The children will know when he is expected, for the missionary is their friend. He will bring them picture cards and some story books perhaps. One boy will tell the others and soon the whole village will know that he is coming. The place of meeting should be

where Arabs regularly congregate for gossip; where they mend their nets or make tents or do any other kind of work. If the evangelist has an eye towards the future, he will make friends with the head man of the house, and drink his coffee with delight. If the man of the house is your friend, let the rest rave as they like, your place is secure. We had such a friend in Bahrein. The Mullahs came and cursed the Christians and the Book, but Rashid, our friend, kept open house for us and the Arabs alike. He admitted before the whole lot, that what we had read from the Book was true. Very often it is wise not to read from the Bible, especially when the air is surcharged with fanaticism. But the story of the Prodigal Son or others can be given by heart, nevertheless. The village people are poor and illiterate, and everything the missionary does and says leaves an impression. A good turn to the blind or the poor may be a revelation to the onlooking Arab. The goodness of Jesus our teacher can be taught by illustration.

In all this we must realize that man's methods are all weak unless the missionary goes in the strength of his Lord. We have come not to destroy systems and establish others, but to change character. And this is a baffling task. Who is sufficient?

GERRIT D. VAN PEURSEM.

Muscat, Arabia.

METAPHYSICS AND COSMOGRAPHY IN PERSIA TODAY

The foreigner living in Persia today is very apt to find his friends and acquaintances among the younger generation who have put on a more or less thin veneer of Western learning and who seem therefore to accept modern ideas as to philosophy and cosmography; or he meets older Persians who have travelled and come into contact with foreigners and have learned to avoid displaying the wide difference of idea and belief which exists between the old ideas to which they cling in their heart and the modern thought around them. We fail to realize that the vast mass of the people high and low still live in a thought world which is far different and far more fantastic than that in which we have been brought up.

Some years ago I asked a friend to recommend some Persian book which would set forth the popular Persian beliefs in regard to metaphysics, history, etc. I was recommended to get the *Kholâsetul-Akhhâr* ("Concise Information") written about eighty years ago. It is said to be very popular among the *Rosa Khans* (public religious reciters) and to be typical of the books they use. Starting out with a preface dealing with the nature of man, it details the creation, then gives a brief history of each of the prophets up to Mohammed, accounts of the miracles of the Imams following him, descriptions of Paradise, Hell, the Resurrection and Judgment, and closes with chapters concerning various duties and sins and the fate of men.

The preface and description of the creation seem of enough interest and value as showing the present attitude of the strictly religious class and the common people to warrant a brief description or paraphrase.

The writer asserts that man, the most honorable of all creation, is composed of two principles or elements which

are diametrically opposed to each other and which may be likened to light and darkness. The light principle he calls *vajûd*. This seeks to obey God and is always desirous of that which is good. The dark principle which he calls *mahiyyet* turns constantly towards evil and disobedience towards God. The minister (*vazîr*) of the former is the reason (*'aql*) which like its king is always desirous of that which is good and leads a man away from sin to obedience and is the strong element in man. The minister of the latter is sensual desire (*nafs*) which draws a man away from God and that which is good and leads him into all manner of evil. This is the weak element in man and because reason is stronger and able to conquer desire man is free to choose that which is good. There is constant struggle,—reason clearly and always leading to that which is right while desire draws a man towards evil and is wholly bad unless it has become weak and has yielded somewhat to reason, in which case it is known as *nafs-mutm'ineh*.

Any one who has tried to argue much with Persians will recognize the effect of this doctrine in their logic, for their final appeal is always to reason in which appeal they fail to realize the corrupting influence of desire upon reason and the wide difference brought about by training in what men consider reasonable.

Desire is classified in regard to the degree in which it is under the control of reason as follows:

Nafs amareh, Unrestrained desire which is fully under the control of the first principle mentioned and hence wholly evil.

Nafs lavameh, Restrained desire which has a faint desire for good.

Nafs mulhameh, Controlled desire which is under the control of reason.

Nafs mutm'ineh, Subdued desire which is submissive to the control of reason.

Nafs razieh, Consenting desire which recognizes as best whatever comes from God.

Nafs marziyyeh, Accepted desire which is acceptable to God.

Nafs kamilieh, Perfect desire. Desire and reason are one in obedience to God and the pursuit of that which is good.

On the other hand if the man permits desire to conquer God abandons him to his own devices.

Ali has said that whoever knows his own nature knows his Maker. Hence the wise man will study his own nature that he may understand the uniqueness and unity of his Creator and thus be able to reach the eternal mansions of bliss. From the Koran (Surah xxiii: 12-15) and tradition it appears that man originates in semen which remains in the womb forty days: God then makes it blood and forty days later this blood becomes a piece of flesh. After another forty days this becomes bone and is covered with flesh. God then creates a man by giving him a spirit (*ruh*). After a child is born in the form of a man he is given teeth, sensation and locomotion. In youth he is given fullness of strength which gradually fades with age. How wonderfully God builds up man in seven stages, from that which is the lowest till he is the most honored of all creation. It is evident also that man is composed of body which is in itself darkness and base, and spirit, which is of light, seeking the highest and that while these two are the very opposites of each other man cannot exist without either. And this is even more marvelous that the body itself is made up of such diverse elements as fire and water, wind and dust. Let a man understand therefore his marvelous Creator which brought these things to pass.

There is a tradition that when the foetus becomes clothed with flesh an angel is appointed which breathes into it and which stays with it all its life writing down all its deeds. While still in the womb a number of writings are presented to it and whichever it chooses determines its future.

Spirit (*ruh*) and soul (*nafs*) are distinct from each other and at death God sequesters the souls. Ibn Abbas says that the bodies of men contain souls and spirits. The soul presides over the reason or intellect while the spirit presides over motion and the breath. If the spirit is withdrawn the soul must necessarily be removed, but not *visa versa*. Whenever one sleeps his soul goes to heaven while his spirit remains in his body. Rays, like the rays of the

sun, bind the two together. If it is the divine pleasure to sequester the spirit the latter yields to the drawing of the soul. If not the soul returns to the body. If the soul observes anything in heaven the dream is capable of interpretation but if it sees something between heaven and earth the dream is a fantasy of Satan and has no meaning.

Among commentators, soul and spirit as above used, are both spirits and in their essence one, although their functions are different. In regard to *nafs* (which is used both for soul and for desire) a distinction must be made as to its function and condition. (Here the author speaks of the spirit being in the various conditions above classified as to the state of the "desire.")

It is reported that after spirits have left the body behind they go to prepared places. For prophets, Eden; for learned men (*ulema*), *Fardus*; for *sayyids*, a mansion in the heights; while the spirits of martyrs fly through the heavens wherever they wish and when they so desire rest on the chandeliers which hang from the throne of God; the spirits of sinners remain in the air until the resurrection; while those of unbelievers are tormented in their bodies until the same time. It was asked of the prophet whether it is true that spirits of men remain in the crops of green birds until the resurrection. He replied that it is not so. Spirits are too much honored to place them in crops of birds but God gives them a form of body which can eat and drink.

Ja'fair Sadiq is reported to have said that spirits talk with each other in the air and discuss their friends. When a new arrival appears he is given a time to recover from the "great fear" and then asked for the latest news. If such a one is reported alive there is still hope but if he has died they know they will never see him again.

THE CREATION

Know that God created the heavens and earth and all that in them is in six days. The first thing which was created was a green topaz. (Elsewhere the author says

the first thing created was the light of Mohammed and much that is here ascribed to the topaz is there given to the light of Mohammed.) The topaz immediately became liquid and boiled giving off a vapor, quivering like smoke. This was divided into seven parts which became the seven heavens which are placed one above the other without any support and which are separated from each other by seven hundred years' journey. The foam from the above essence became the seven earths which are set one above the other. An angel was then created and placed under the earth to hold it on his shoulders, a hand at either side. A ruby was then created and placed under his feet and a cow formed to support the ruby on its horns. The latter stands upon a stone which is supported by a fish swimming in water. The water rests upon wind and the wind is held by power (of God).

It is said that the fish listened to the whisperings of Satan and tried to shake off his burden, but God created a small insect and placed it in the fish's nose, causing intense pain. The insect was withdrawn and suspended in front of the fish to warn him against further rebellion. Which illustrates how a very little thing may torment so great a creature.

The order of creation was as follows:

Sunday, heavens and earth;

Monday, sun, moon and stars;

Tuesday, paradise and hell;

Wednesday, creatures and vegetable life;

Thursday, waters and seas;

Friday, angels and the spirit of man and on this day angels and all created things were commanded to worship Adam and the latter was shown the wonders of heaven.

God might have created all things in the twinkling of an eye but he delayed in order that man might have a lesson in patience. As the prophet said, "Haste is of Satan; patience of God."

The mountain of Qaf is a mountain around the earth. It consists of emerald which also gives the color to the skies. (Tradition.) Around this mountain are little mountains which represent the cords of all the cities and

shrines so that when God wishes to send an earthquake to any of these places He commands the attendant guardians to pull the respective mountain.

CONCERNING THE THRONE, THE TABLET, ETC.

The *Lauh Mahfuz* (tablet) is made of a single white pearl which extends from heaven to earth and from the east to the west. Upon it are written all things that are to occur according to the wisdom of God. God indicates His wishes to Michael; Michael to Gabriel, and Gabriel to the prophets. It is reported that on the Tablet are seven lines (columns?); two and a half for the affairs of the earth and four and a half for the affairs of the resurrection. The first thing that is written on the Tablet is: "Truly whoever is submissive to the fate I assign him and has patience in the troubles I send him and is grateful for the favor I bestow upon him, him have I written righteous in the day of resurrection: but whosoever is not submissive to the fate I send him and has not patience in the troubles I send upon him and is not grateful for the favor I bestow upon him, he must petition my creator (i. e. God)." God looks upon the Tablet 360 times a day to see what is written and He cancels that which He wishes and leaves that He wishes. For instance, if a man's time has come to die but that man prays or gives alms or is obedient God may cancel that which is written.

It took the Pen four hundred years to write, "There is no god but God and Mohammed is the apostle of God and Ali is the vicar of God." After that the Pen wrote upon the Tablet whatever was to happen until the day of resurrection including even the movements of the leaves of the trees. The Tablet then rejoiced that the wisdom of God was written upon it. Whereupon God called to the Pen, "Write that God will cancel such things as He wishes from this Tablet."

The Throne (*'arsh*) is greater than all creation and the Platform (*kursi*) is greater than the throne. (The author dwells upon the question and meaning of the comparative

size). The throne is mounted upon four angels each having four faces (man, lion, cow and rooster). When the time came to place the throne upon these bearers, Gabriel took one corner saying, "Glory to God"; Michael, one, saying, "Praise to God"; Azrafel, another, saying, "There is no god but God"; and Azrael, the fourth, saying, "God is great." Then they mounted it upon the bearers, shouting, "There is no power nor virtue save in God the high and great." Therefore whoever repeats these words has the merit of a bearer of the throne. The merit of these bearers is credited to the Shiias. The throne has 18,000 pillars and the space between the pillars 18,000 chandeliers of such size that one could hold the seven heavens and seven earths. There are three things which can shake the throne: the morning prayers and repentances of the faithful, injustice to orphans, and divorce without cause.

Greater even than the throne is the serpent encircling it; he has a thousand feet and seventy thousand faces, and each face seventy thousand mouths and each mouth seventy thousand tongues, and each tongue seventy thousand words in praise of God and the merit (of this praise) is credited to Shiah followers of the house of Mohammed.

Certain traditions also say there is a sea beside the throne in which Gabriel bathes each morning and that from the drops which fall from him angels are created.

CONCERNING THE HEAVENS AND EARTHS

The first heaven is made of green topaz and is called *Ailun* or *Barfiyeh*. The angels there are bowed with heads to the ground (*sejud*) and praise God as follows: "Praise God the ruler of kings and kingdoms." Ismail is at their head. In this heaven also there is an angel named Thunder. When he strikes the clouds with his whip it thunders and the lightning is the flash of fire from his whip.

The second heaven is of silver and is called *nahuni* or *aqlum*. The inhabitants stand with hands on knees

(*ruku'*) reciting "Praise God the Lord of excellence and power." Their leader is called *Gargâb*. He is seated and one half is snow, the other fire.

The third heaven is of ruby (or some say iron) and is called *mahqûm* or *qîdum*. Its inhabitants stand continually with hands before their faces (*qiyam*).

The fourth heaven is of white pearl and is called *dîlûl* or *mâ'ûn*. The inhabitants with bowed heads reciting, "Praise God, the Holy King, Lord of angels and spirits."

The fifth heaven, of gold, is called *mâin* or *dalv*. Its angels stand looking up reciting, "Praise the Divine Creator."

The sixth heaven of green emerald (or gold) is called *tâhîr* or *barmâz*. Its inhabitants cry, "Praise God and glorify the number of His creatures and the power of His word."

The seventh heaven is of red ruby and called, *Ivushâ* or *Zâkieh*. The angels are all cherubim and are constantly weeping for the sins of the people. They all differ, the one from other.

Above the heavens is a great sea in which an angel stands up to his knees making intercession for the family of the prophet.

Also above the heavens are seventy veils or curtains; for each curtain there are seventy thousand angel door-keepers and the distance between each curtain is seven hundred years' journey. Above these curtains are yet other curtains as the curtain of excellence, honor, power, might, holiness, light, lordship, until one comes to the curtain of greatness and the world.

THE EARTH

The first earth is inhabited by men.

The second is the home of the winds which destroyed the followers of Ad.

The third is inhabited by creatures with men's faces, cow's ears, sheep's feet, goat's hair. These are sinless. When it is daytime with us it is night with them. This earth is of sulphur.

The fourth earth is inhabited by serpents.

The fifth by scorpion-like creatures, a drop of whose poison would make all the waters of the ocean bitter.

The sixth earth is inhabited by devils (*shaiâtin*).

Of the seventh earth no one knows anything.

God told Moses that he had created inhabitants for the world and left it waste ten times. Once it was filled with a cow-like creature which God destroyed for disobedience. Again God created a sea and after that a beast which swallowed up the sea in one gulp and was itself destroyed by a small insect. After that the earth was covered by rushes which were consumed by a turtle. Again there were four kinds of men who lived upon the earth, each for a time and after their destruction God created a city of gold and filled it with mustard seed and then He created a bird which gradually ate up the seed. Finally Adam was created on a Friday at the time of the noonday prayer. The real purpose, however, was to bring Mohammed into the world.

On earth there are three enemies of God: Satan, those who have left God's service, and the world. This latter is to be the first thing cast into hell, God having first rendered its treasures despicable because it is the deceiver of men. Satan is the one who leads men away from God. He appeared to Solomon as an old man and told him that as to the followers of Moses, he (Satan) would place the love of the world in their hearts; as for the people of the Spirit of God, he would not permit them to turn back from taking two gods beside God; and he would lead the followers of Mohammed to believe money and the world are more beautiful than witnessing, "There is no god but God."

There is much that has been omitted in the foregoing paraphrase and condensation, but it is sufficient to indicate the background of thought life with which we come into contact only superficially.

J. DAVIDSON FRAME.

Resht, Persia.

THE PHILOSOPHY OF ZAR'A YA'KOB

The following is a translation of an Ethiopic text which has not before been put into a modern language, though there is hardly another text in Ethiopic of equal fascination; Zar'a Ya'kob (*Seed of Jacob*) tells the story of his life, how he canvassed the tenets of Judaism, Islam, and Christianity, found each confused with errors, but nevertheless came to love God Whom he learned to know through the Psalms and the Gospels. Since he knew the Christian religion only through a degraded eastern Church and a very much diluted variety of Romanism, his sincerity in rejecting it is hardly culpable.

CHAPTER I

In the name of God, who alone is just, I will write the life of Zar'a Ya'kob,¹ and his wisdom and philosophy, how he proceeded as he said, "Come, hear me, I will tell all of you who fear God how he has done for me. So here I begin."

In the name of God, the Creator of everything that is past and that is to come, the all-embracing, the fountain of all life and of all wisdom, I will write down a few of all (the things) that have happened to me in the long years of my life. And in God let my soul have its glory. Let the humble listen and rejoice. So I sought God, and he received me. And now do you, also, draw near to him, and he will bring you light, and your face shall not be put to shame. Magnify God with me, and together let us exalt his name.

My remoter origin is from the priests of Axum. But I was begotten of a certain poor man, a farmer of the district of Axum, on the twenty-fifth of (the month) Nahas, in the third year of the reign of Ya'kob, the 1592nd from the birth of Christ. And in Christian baptism I was

¹"Seed of Jacob."

named Zar'a Ya'kob, though men called me Warke. And after I was grown my father sent me to school that I might learn. And after I had read the Psalms of David, my teacher said to my father, "This boy, your son, has a clear mind and is patient to learn; so if you send him to school he will become a teacher and doctor." And my father, hearing this, sent me to learn *zêma*.² But my voice was not beautiful and my throat was rough; so I was the laughing stock and ridicule of my companions. But I stayed there three months; then I rose in trouble of my heart and went to another teacher who taught *kenê*³ and *sawâsawa*.⁴ And God gave me wisdom that I might learn more quickly than my companions, so this encouraged me in place of what had before made me sad. And I stayed there four years. Now in those days God brought me back from the eye of death. For while I was playing with my companions I fell into a pit, and I did not know how I was saved unless God saved me by a miracle. After I was rescued I measured the depth of that pit with a long rope, and I found it twenty-five ells and one *sazer*. But I rose alive and went to the house of my teacher, while I praised God who had preserved me. Then from this I rose and went to learn the exposition of the sacred books. I remained in this study ten years; and I studied the books as the Franks⁵ explain them and also as the teachers of our own land explain them. But their expositions much of the time did not agree with my mind; yet I kept silent, and hid all my thoughts in my mind. And after this I returned and was content in my own land in Axum; and I began to teach books for four years. But this time was an evil time; for in the nineteenth year of the reign of Socinius Abuna Alphonso came from the race of the Franks, and after two years there came terrible folly upon all the land of Ethiopia; for the king accepted the faith of the Franks, and from this time it came about that he drove out all those who did not accept the faith.

²*Zêma*, a kind of chanting. ³*Kenê*, hymn singing.

⁴*Sawâsawa*, another kind of chanting.

⁵"The Franks" are the Portuguese Jesuits who entered Abyssinia in 1592.

CHAPTER II

But when I was in my own country and had taught books (there) many of my companions hated me. For at that time friendship was lost and jealousy seized them; for I was esteemed greater than they in my teaching and my friendship, and I was at peace with every man, with Franks and with Copts. And when I had taught and interpreted books, I used to say, "So and so the Franks say, and so and so the Copts." But I did not say, "This is good, but that is bad"; rather I would say, "All these things are good if we are good." And on account of this they all hated me. And to the Copts I seemed like a Frank, and to the Franks I seemed like a Copt. And many times they accused me before the king, but God preserved me. And then there came a certain enemy from the priests of Axum, whose name was Walda Yohannesa; and he was a friend of the king: for by a deceitful tongue the friendship of kings is won. And that perfidious man went before the king and said about me, "Truly the man makes the people go astray, and says to them, 'We ought to rise on behalf of our faith and kill the king and drive out the Franks.' " And with such like words he accused me a great deal; but as for me I found out this in time, and I was afraid, and I took three ounces of gold that I had and the book of the Psalms of David with which I might pray, and I fled by night, not revealing to anybody where I was going. And I came to the land across the river Takkazi. And on the second day hunger took me, so I set out in fear and went to ask for bread from the owners of the country. And they gave me, and I ate, and went on in the flight. And so I did many days. And when I came toward Shoa I found a plain where nobody lived. And under a high cliff was a beautiful cave; so I said, "I will remain here where men do not know about me." And I stayed there two years, even till the death of Socinius. But from time to time I used to go out and walk to the market, or to one of the districts of Amhara. And I seemed to the people of Amhara a hermit-monk

who begged alms; and they gave me that I should eat. And nobody knew where I returned. And when I was alone in my cave it seemed to me that I was in the Kingdom of Heaven, for I hated remaining with men, as I knew their wickedness that is beyond measure. And I made my cave more beautiful by a surrounding wall of thicket to prevent wild animals from devouring me at night, and I made a way out so that I might escape if men came seeking me. And there I remained in peace. And I prayed with all my heart with the Psalms of David, and I hoped that God would hear me.

CHAPTER III

And when I was without anything to do after my prayer, I used every day to consider the confusion and wickedness of men, and the wisdom of God their Creator, who is silent while men do wickedly in his name and persecute their companions and kill their brethren. For in those days the Franks were mighty in violence, but the Franks were not alone for the men of our land were worse than they. Those who accepted the faith of the Franks used to say, "The Copts deny the true faith of the seat of Peter and (so) they are enemies of God." Therefore they persecute them. And the Copts do the same for their faith. And as I thought I said, "If God is the Saviour of men, why is their nature so corrupted? And," I said, "does God know? And is there one in heaven who knows? And if there is one who knows, why is he silent concerning the wickedness of men when they defile his name and act wickedly in his holy name?" And I thought much, but I came to no certain knowledge. And I prayed saying, "O my God and my Creator, who hast made me a thinking being and caused me to know thy hidden wisdom, give light to my eyes that my soul may not sleep in death.⁶ Thy hands have made me and formed me.⁷ For almost had my foot gone and my steps slipped.⁸ And this task is before me." These and like words I kept praying; but one day I thought to myself, "To whom am I praying?

⁶Ps. 13: 3. ⁷Ps. 119: 73. ⁸Ps. 73: 2.

And is there a God that hears me?" With this thought I was very sad, and I said, "Therefore have I justified my vain heart, as David says."⁹ And afterwards I considered how David had said this, "Shall he who set his ear hear nothing?"¹⁰ And I said, "In truth, who gave me ears that I might hear? And who made me a thinking person? And how did I come into this world? And from where did I come? For I was not before the world, nor do I know the beginning of my life nor the beginning of my understanding. Who then made me? Or was I made by my own hand? But I was not, when I was created. And if I say my mother and father made me, then the maker of my parents must be sought; and of their parents, back to the first (people) who were not born like us but who came to this world in another way without being born. For if they, too, were born, I do not know where is the origin of their birth, unless I say that He who created them from nothing is one life, who was not created, but who lives and shall live to all eternity, Lord of all, all-embracing, without beginning, never ending, never changed, whose years cannot be thought." And I said, "Therefore there is a Creator, for if there were not a Creator, the creatures would not be found. For we are, and we are not creators but creatures, and we ought to say that it is the Creator who made us. But this Creator who made us thinking and rational—is he not, we ask, thinking and rational? For from the fulness of his understanding he made us rational, and he knows all things for he made all and embraces all." And I said, "My Creator hears me when I pray to him." And I prayed with great hope, and I loved my Creator with my whole heart, and I said, "Thou, O Lord, knowest all the thoughts of my heart, even the most hidden, for verily thou knowest all things, past and future; and all my ways thou first hast known. Because it is said, 'Thou knowest the hidden thing; for God knowest my thoughts from before I was created.'¹¹ And I said, "O my Creator, make me to understand."

⁹Ps. 73: 13. ¹⁰Ps. 94: 9. ¹¹Ps. 139: 2.

CHAPTER IV

And after I thought I said, "Are all things that are written in the Holy Scriptures true?" And I considered much, but I did not exactly know. And I said, "I will go that I may ask learned men who have made investigation, and they will tell me the truth." But then I considered and said, "What will men answer me except what is in their hearts? For all men say, 'My faith is right, and those who believe in another faith believe in wickedness and they are enemies of God.' And now the Franks say, 'Our faith is good but yours is bad.' And we answering say to them, 'Not so: but your faith is bad and our faith is good.' And also the Moslems and the Jews, if we ask them, tell us likewise; and in this dispute who shall be the judge? Not one of the children of men, for all men are accusers and defenders among themselves." Now I had previously asked a certain Frankish doctor concerning many questions of our faith; but he explained everything according to his faith. And afterwards I asked a certain great doctor of Ethiopia; but he explained everything according to his faith. And if we ask the Moslems and the Jews, they likewise explain according to their own faith. So where will I find one who will explain in truth? For as my faith seems true to me so the faith of another seems true to him. Yet truth exists. When I had considered all these I said, "O wisest of the wise, and most just of the just, my Creator who hast made me a thinking being, make me wise, for neither wisdom nor justice is found among men. But, as David says, 'All men are liars.'"¹²

CHAPTER V

But to the one who inquires, the truth is quickly laid bare. For he who inquires with the pure mind which the Creator has placed in the heart of man, considering the order and laws of creation, he shall find the truth. Moses said, "I am sent from before God that I may tell you his will and law";¹⁵ but those who came after him added

¹²Ps. 116: 11. ¹⁵Cf. Ex. 3: 13.

chronicles of portents which were done, they said, in the land of Egypt and in Mount Sinai, and they made it seem truly the words of Moses. But to one who inquires they do not seem true. For in the book of Moses there is found a false wisdom which does not agree with the wisdom of the Creator nor with the order and laws of creation. For by the will of the Creator and the laws of the creation it is commanded that man and woman be joined in a union of the flesh for the begetting of children, in order that the children of man may not perish. And this union which God commanded mankind in the law of creation cannot be impure; for God does not make impure the work of his own hands. But Moses said that all union was impure. Nevertheless our intelligence shows us that he who says these things is deceitful and constitutes the Creator himself a liar. But now they say that the law of Christians is from God, and miracles are found to prove this. But our intelligence says to us and proves to us that marriage is according to the law of the Creator; but monasticism makes vain the law of the Creator because it prevents the bringing forth of children and causes human creation to perish. And the law of Christians when it says that monastic life is better than marriage speaks a lie, and it is not from God. For how can that which destroys the law of the Creator be better than his wisdom? And can the counsel of men improve the doing of God? And likewise Mohammed (said), "From God I received what I command you." And the books of miracles do not fail to prove the mission of Mohammed, and people believe it. But we know that the teachings of Mohammed cannot be from God. For mankind is born equal in number, male and female. And if we count the males and females living in any part of the earth, one wife is found for every man, but there are not found eight or ten females for each man because the law of creation commands that one man marry one woman. But if one man marries ten wives, nine are left who have no wives. Thus he upsets the order of the Creator and the laws of creation, and he makes vain the

purpose of marriage. Mohammed who taught in the name of God that it is right for one man to marry many women, is a liar, and he was not sent from God. So these few things I inquired into concerning the law of marriage.

CHAPTER VIII

Now the will of the Creator is known to us by the brief word of our reason which says to us, "Worship God thy Creator, and love all men as thyself."²³ Then again in the words of our reason, "Do nothing to men that thou wishest them not to do unto thee; but do to them what thou wishest them to do to thee."²⁴ Besides this, the Ten Words of the Pentateuch are the will of the Creator, except, however, the honoring of the Sabbath, for concerning the honoring of the Sabbath our reason is silent. But that we should not kill, nor steal, nor lie, nor go to (another) man's wife—what is like these our reason tells us we ought not to do. Thus the Six Words of the Gospel are the will of our Creator: for we ourselves wish men to do us this mercy, and we ought to do for others as we are able. Furthermore, it is the will of our Creator that we preserve our life and existence in this world. For by the will of the Creator we came and we remain in this world, and we ought not to give it up except at his holy will. And the Creator himself desires that we improve our life with knowledge and with work, for he hath given us our reason and ability for this purpose. Therefore manual labor is the will of the Creator, for without it the necessities of life are not found. Likewise is the marriage of one man with one woman and the bringing up of children. And there are also many other matters which are in accord with our reason, and are necessary for our life or for the existence of all living people. And we ought to guard them, since this is the will of the Creator. And we ought to know that God has not made us perfect but has made us rational and we ought to become perfect so that we may be so while we are in this world, and may become worthy of

²³Cf. Mt. 22: 37-39. ²⁴Luke 6: 31.

the reward that our Creator in his wisdom is preparing for us. Though it would be possible for God to create us perfect and to make us blessed even in this world, nevertheless he did not wish to make us so, but he made us so that we ought to be perfect, and he set us among the temptations of this world to become perfect and worthy of the reward that our Creator is going to give us after we die.

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CHAPTER XI

And in the year 1625 after the birth of Christ the king Socinius died, and his son Fasiladas ruled in his stead. And he at first loved the Franks, as his father did, but he did not persecute the Copts. And there was peace in all the country of Ethiopia. Then I came out from my cave, and I went first into the land of Amhara; then I crossed to Bega-Land. And to all the enemies of the Franks I seemed to be one of the monks who had fled in the days of Socinius; therefore they loved me and gave me food and clothing. And when I came from place to place I did not wish to return to Axum, for I knew the wickedness of the priests. And I remembered that with God the way of man is established, and I said, "Lead me, O God, in the way wherein I go and in the land wherein I shall remain." And I thought that I would cross over and live in the land of Goza, but God led me where I did not expect. For on a certain day I came to the land of Enferez, to a certain rich man whose name was Habtu, that is "Gift of God," and I remained there for one day. And on the next day I requested of him pen and tablet that I might send letters to my family who were in Axum. And he said to me, "Canst thou write?" And I said, "Yes, I can write." And he said to me, in reply, "Stay with me for a few days and write out for me the Psalter of David; and I will pay thee." And I said, "Yes," and in my heart I thanked God who had showed me the way that I might earn the fruit of my labor. For I did not wish to return to my home; nor did I wish to teach falsehood, and if I taught the truth, men would not hear me but would hate me and ac-

cuse me and persecute me. But I wished to remain in peace and friendship with all men. And I preferred to enjoy the fruit of my labor and to be let alone by man; and to stay apart with the wisdom that God gave me rather than to remain in the house of sinners. And in a few days, having arranged pen and paper, I wrote out one book of the Psalter of David. And Lord Habtu, and all those who saw my writing admired it, for it was beautiful. And Lord Habtu gave me my pay, a beautiful garment; and later the son of Habtu, whose name was Walda Mika'el, said to me, "Write for me, also, as thou hast written for my father." And I wrote and he gave me a cow and two goats. And after that many came to me, and I wrote the Book of David, and other books and letters, for besides me there was none else in that country who could write, and they gave me clothes, goats, salt, grain, and other such-like things. Now Lord Habtu had two little boys, and the name of the one son was Walda Gabre'el, who was called Tesamme, and the name of the other was Heywat, who was called Metku. And their father Habtu said to me, "Teach them in the reading of David, and I will give thee pay, food sufficient for thee. And whatever writing of thy own hand thou dost gain, it shall be thine." And I said, "So be it, O my father; all that thou dost command I will do. Only be to me instead of my father and my mother and my family, for except thee I have no family."

CHAPTER XII

But I knew that man ought not to remain alone without a wife, for in this way he is drawn into sin; and man ought not to remain in a way that is not according to his nature lest he be ensnared in the wrongs that he does. As it was said long ago, "It is not good that man live alone, but a wife is needed for him." And I said to Lord Habtu, "I am not a monk, but I appear so because of the evil time." And there was a certain maiden of his whose name was Hirut, who was not beautiful but was good at her tasks and intelligent and patient. And I said to Lord

Habtu, "Give me this maiden that she may be my wife." And Lord Habtu answered, "Yes; from this time she shall be not my slave but thy slave." And I said, "Not my slave, but she shall be my wife; for man and woman are equal in marriage, and they ought not to be lord and slave, for they are one flesh and one life." And Lord Habtu replied, "Verily thou art a man of God; do according to thy will." And we called this maiden, and I said to her, "Wilt thou be my wife?" And she said, "As my lord wishes." And Lord Habtu said, "Truly I wish it." Then she said to me, "Thou art good to me; where is there one better than thou?" And we said to Lord Habtu, "Bless us, O our father." And he said, "May God bless you and protect you, and give you health and love, through long life; and may he give you children, together with riches of this world, and may he protect you from evils." And we said, "Amen, Amen." So Hirut was my wife, and she loved me deeply, and was very happy; for before she had been ill treated in the house of Habtu, and the men of his house always troubled her. And because she loved me, I received her into my heart, trying to please her in every way I could, and I thought that there was never another marriage so strong in love and so blessed of God as was ours. Now I still had two ounces of gold that were left from what I took with me when I fled from Axum. And by the writing of my hand I earned cattle and goats and clothes. And I built a small house near Lord Habtu, and I lived there with my wife in love. But she spun day and night while I wrote and taught the children of Habtu and the other boys who were there. And Lord Habtu gave me one bushel (or taif) each month because I taught his sons. And so I lived with my wife in love and happiness for four years, but no children were born to me; but then she conceived and bore a son on the eleventh of (the month) Tekemt, in the evening, in the 1631st year after the birth of Christ. And we were made happy in our son. And I named him with my father's name, Basaga-Habta-Egzi-abher.

And after three years Abuna Alphonso went to his country, and all his enemies rose up and his friends were driven out with him. And at that time in all districts the teachers were searched out who taught and agreed with the ancient doctrine, and my family who were in Axum sought me that I might return to my heritage and teach books in Axum as before. For I seemed to men to have fled the real persecution which was because of Abuna Alphonso. And they sent to me and said, "Return to us, for your enemies are perished and your friends remain." And I answered saying, "I have no enemy, nor any friend except that man of God, my Lord Habtu and his children and my wife, and I will not leave them. But do you remain in peace; I cannot come to you."

And that hypocrite, my enemy, Walda Yohannes, who had previously accused me before King Socinius, after Abuna Alphonso went away, returned to the faith of the Copts; but he had no faith except what at any time served his ends. And for his great perfidiousness he then went to the king and became a friend to him, Fasiladas; for kings love the faithless and hypocritical. And Walda Yohannes heard that I was in peace in the land of Enferez, and again he began to accuse me, saying, "He is a teacher of the Franks, who secretly teaches the doctrine of the Franks," and he said this to the governor of Enferez. But I was in much trouble on account of his perfidy, for at first he said regarding me, "He is an enemy of the Franks," and later he said, "He is their friend." And in the sadness of my heart I said, "May God tear out their evil lips." And I prayed many days with Psalm 34, "Strive with them," and Psalm 108, "Lord, be not deaf to me." And God heard me; for that man was set to rule over a large part of Dambeya, and the men hated him and killed him and his corpse was found in his own house; but his murderer was not found. And another man took his province and his goods.

CHAPTER XIII

And in the 1635th year after the birth of Christ there was a great famine in all the country of Ethiopia and a mighty pestilence on account of the sins of our people and on account of the lack of friendly love. For those who had accepted the faith of Socinius and of Abuna Alphonso had formerly persecuted and killed their brothers who had not accepted their faith. But those who had been driven out repaid their enemies sevenfold and killed many of them. And among them all it was clearly shown there was no fear of God before their eyes, nor did they know the way of peace. And for nothing were they called Christians, for Jesus Christ before all else and above all else commanded of Christians mutual love. But this mutual love is altogether wiped out among those who are called Christians, and all of them sin against their brothers and devour one another as food is eaten.

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CHAPTER XIV

And one year later Lord Habtu died; and we mourned deeply, and were very sorrowful. But he, before he died, called us to him and said, "Behold, I am dying. May God protect you and bless you. And do thou be father to my children." And he gave to me two oxen and a mule, and to my wife he gave two cows with their calves. And he said to us, "Pray for my soul." And he died in the peace of God. May his blessed soul rest in peace! So we buried him with great honor. And his eldest son, whose name was Walda Mika'el, loved me as his father, and listened to my counsel. And his wife was named Walatta Petros, though she was called Fantaya; and she was honored among the honored of the land, and she was skillful and was filled with friendliness and humility. And she loved us as a mother loves her children. And the two sons of Habtu, Tesamma and Metku, grew, and learned to read David; and Metku also learned writing and *sawasew* and books; and he was associated with me in learning and in great love. And he knew all my secrets and

nothing was hidden from him. And through my love for him I have written these few matters because he has many times asked me.

CHAPTER XV

And remaining with men I seemed to them to be a Christian; but in my heart I did not believe, except in God, the Creator of all things and the Protector of all, as he made me to understand. And I thought and I said, "Am I condemned of sin before God, because I seem to be what I truly am not, and thus deceive people?" But I said, "Men wish that they may be deceived, and if I lay bare to them the truth they will not hear me, but they will hate me and persecute me, and there is no use in my laying bare my thoughts but there is much hurt. Therefore I will remain before men like one of them but I will be before God as he has given me knowledge." But in order that those who come after me may know me, I wish to write down these things which I have kept to myself until my death. And if there be found after my death a wise and inquiring man, I ask that his thoughts be added to mine. Truly I began to inquire into what had not before this been considered. And do thou finish what I have begun, in order that the men of our land may become wise, with the help of God, and may arrive at the knowledge of truth; and that they may not believe in lies nor trust in wickedness, nor go from vain thing to vain thing; but that they may know the truth, and love their brothers, and may not quarrel over their vain faith as they do even till now. And if there be found an understanding man who knows these matters and is eminent in them, and teaches and writes, may God give to him according to his heart. And may he accomplish for him all his desire, and may he satisfy him with his good gifts without limit even as he has satisfied me. And may he be granted happiness and blessing upon the earth as I have been granted happiness and blessing even till this day. But he who has spoken evil upon me on account of this book, may he not have

desire to understand right living; may God grant his recompense. Amen.

THE END OF THE BOOK

This Zar'a Ya'kob, who is Warke, wrote in the sixty-eighth year of his life, when Fasiladas died and Yohannes ruled. And after he wrote this book Zar'a Ya'kob lived twenty-five years to a good old age, loving God our Creator and praising him day and night; and he was greatly honored. And he saw his children and his grandchildren. And his son Habtu had five sons and four daughters of his wife Madhanit. And all the days of Zar'a Ya'kob, that is, Warke, were ninety-three years and he was not sick. And he died with great faith in God our Creator; and one year later his wife also died, and she was buried with her husband. May God receive their souls in eternal peace! And his son and his grandchildren were honored in our land, and were found in the blessing of their father; and their abode was not sufficient for them for the number of their cattle, and part of them went down into the valley to the family of their mother, and there they lived. Behold, thus is the man blessed who fears God. May God bless us with the blessing of my father Habtu and with the blessing of Zar'a Ya'kob! For I am very old; and I have advanced in age and grown old: but I have not seen a just man neglected, nor his seed lacking bread, but blessed is he forever. And I, Walda Haywat, who am called Metku, have added these few words to the book of my teacher that you may know that his end was happy. But concerning my wisdom, which God has made me to know, and which Zar'a Ya'kob taught me during fifty-nine years, behold, I also have written a book to teach and to warn all the children of Ethiopia. May God give them understanding, and wisdom and love, and may he bless them forever and ever. Amen.

(TRANSLATED BY) MOSES BAILEY.

Jerusalem, Palestine.

THE INFLUENCE OF ISLAM ON AFRICAN NATIVE LAW*—II

3. **FULANI LAW.** The Fulani being, as has been said, a Mohammedan tribe, it is natural that their laws should show traces of that religion. Among the more interesting of these are the following:—

Whenever a Mosque has to be built, or requires renovating and reroofing, the chief informs the towns and villages within his jurisdiction. They must then send labourers to collect the necessary materials. The chief is bound to provide food and shelter for the work people.

Any person disobeying the summons of the chief calling his people together for the purpose of working on the farms, will be fined, and may be placed in the stocks. For a second offense he can be sent to another chief who has the power to compel him to work on his own farm.

When a child is given a name, a sheep must be killed, and sufficient rice cooked to feed the people attending the ceremony. The head of the child must be shaved in order to legalize the name.

When the people gather together for any religious festival, such as *Ramadan*, the chief of their town or village must supply them with food and shelter.

Every child must learn the Koran and must also be taught honesty, the meaning of charity, and how to pray.

When an *Alpha* is ordained, the principal men of the town or village must gather together in the Mosque. After the ceremony the chief is obliged to provide meat and rice for those who attend it.

No person must attend prayers in a Mosque on Friday until he has washed himself.

If a person laughs in a Mosque during prayers or causes a disturbance therein, or behaves in an unseemly manner, or interrupts the service without cause, he will be flogged in public immediately after the service is over.

*Continued from April issue.

When the celebration of the Feast of *Lesser Bairam* takes place, the people must proceed to the field for prayers, and afterwards give alms to the *Alphas*, the children and the poor.

At the Feast of the *Greater Bairam* sheep must be killed and shared with the *Alphas*, the children and the poor.

The religious beliefs, customs, and institutions of the tribes of equatorial Africa are so deeply rooted that the Moslem priests have a difficult task to convert them. Nevertheless, they continue to make progress. At first the Moslem invasion beat in vain against, and failed to penetrate, the understanding of the peoples, many of whom are secluded from outside influence by the impenetrable depths and fastness of their country. But gradually the *Malams* have found a way in, and are obtaining more influence and more hold over the lives and minds of the heathen peoples.

The Mohammedans have not been content with an invasion from the north and east, but are sending their teachers along the West African littoral, where they quietly and unostentatiously disembark at the various ports, and penetrate the hinterlands of the Colonies and Protectorates of the Great Powers. Their work has been made easier since the opening up and partition of Africa. For now they are able to travel by means of the roads and railways which have been built by the Colonial Governments, and which enable them to journey with ease and impunity from place to place, and cover considerable distances in comparatively limited time. These *Malams* are now to be met with nearly everywhere, even in the remote savage and almost inaccessible regions of the still unexplored countries. They wear flowing robes, consisting of a white shirt, covered with black, blue, or different coloured gowns. Over the ordinary loincloth they wear a pair of baggy, moorish-looking breeches, having a very loose seat, but fitting tightly over the calves. A sleeved shirt is worn over the breeches, and over this again comes the voluminous *bubar*, which is an exaggerated copy of

the Egyptian *jubbah*. This baggy sleeved *bubar* is a large garment with many folds, having a hole in the middle of it for the head. There is a deep opening cut in the front which shows the white shirt worn beneath. They wear sandals of wood or leather upon their feet, and these are fastened by means of leather thongs or grass-fibre, which are passed over the instep and inside the big toe. For head cover, they wear a round cap, which fits tightly to the head like the fez of northern Africa. They invariably wear an oblong or oval-shaped amulet round the neck, the larger ones being suspended from a leather necklace outside the clothing.

Some *Malams* often carry a leather-thonged whip, now a symbol of gentility; but which, in former days, was used for the purpose of flogging or intimidating slaves. These Moslem priests are careful of their appearance; proud of their membership of a great religion; devout in the observance of the ceremonies of their faith; and have a secret contempt for the followers of any other religion but their own. Many of them combine their teaching work with trade, petty or otherwise. In a number of places they work in iron and leather, and are clever at turning out all kinds of leather work. They make sword-scabbards, dagger-sheaths, bags, sandals, saddles and their trappings, artistic coverings for spear handles, bottles, tins and other receptacles. They obtain a large sale for their little leather charm bags, hundreds of thousands of which are scattered all over Africa. These often contain a small piece of paper upon which are written words from the Koran, and they are highly prized by the natives to whom they are sold.

The methods by which the Moslem leaders are teaching and spreading their religion and law in Africa are simple, although they are by no means carrying out their campaign in a haphazard manner, but systematically, and upon a widely spread organized plan. They work singly, in two's or three's, or more; a number of *Malams* being allotted to certain areas and countries. They appear to

have little difficulty in traveling through, and staying in, the most savage and uncivilized districts. During my travels in Africa, I have met them in the hinterlands of Sierra Leone, the Gambia, the Ivory Coast, the Gold Coast, Togo, Dahomey, Nigeria; in the wildest and least known regions of Liberia and Portuguese Guinea.

A few years ago upon entering a remote Pagan town in the upper Bussi country in the Liberian hinterland, where the majority of the inhabitants had never before seen a white man, I observed the Mohammedan priest sitting quietly in a little hut meditating over his script. These people are nearly always polite, although sometimes a little sullen; but there is the feeling that underneath lies a smouldering hostility towards the European of a different creed.

These Moslem priests are singularly successful in ingratiating themselves with the people. They live among and mix with them, enter into their lives, and do what they do. They are quick at adapting themselves to their surroundings; and they are assisted by the fact that there is no racial antagonism or contrast between them and the peoples of Africa of their own colour. Knowing the suspicious and conservative nature of the tribes occupying the vast territories comprising the forest belts of equatorial Africa; knowing too that their lives and customs are governed by their belief in a spiritual world, which is their religion, the *Malams* do not scruple to lie and play upon the superstition of the people, if this will help them to gain a point. They invariably inculcate the habit of bringing the idea of God into the chief events of daily life. Upon all occasions they work to implant in the mind of the heathen side by side with, if not in place of, the primitive belief in a particular spirit, the thought of God. They teach them to use the name of God upon all occasions, at meals, at ceremonies, and during their work. Their teaching is at first quite superficial; but when they get better acquainted with the inhabitants, the instruction becomes more detailed and intense, but the es-

sence and real power of their teaching is in the simplicity of their creed. Their cry "there is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the prophet of Allah," needs no elaboration and little explaining. It is easily remembered, and the meanest intellect can retain it. The teachers take care that there is but slight demand made upon the moral faculty, and spare their pupils as much trouble as possible in their lessons.

These priests make themselves indispensable to the chiefs, and thereby secure privileges for the people of their own faith. After a little time, impressed by the wisdom of the *Malam*, the chief talks to him about political and tribal matters, and consults him upon questions of law. He is almost afraid to practice his own religion in the presence of Mohammedans; and therefore soon becomes ashamed of it, then neglects, and finally abandons it. He begins to sympathize with the new faith, talks about it with his people, and by degrees adopts the stately dress and ways of Islam. The *Malam* explains to him about the Unity of God, condemns idolatry, and promises paradise to all believers. He expatiates upon the efficacy of amulets, adding that their use has been sanctioned by Allah. He talks about the superiority of the Mohammedans over the Christian white men; and does not fail to impress upon his listeners that Moslem influence is increasing all over Africa and the world.

When a Mohammedan priest first enters a country with which he is unacquainted, he will make his way towards the principal town where the paramount or ruling chief resides. To do this he will probably have to pass through many towns and villages, each possessing a minor or sub-chief, owing allegiance to the paramount-chief of the country. One of the first things a *Malam* does upon entering such a town, is to seek out the sub-chief, and tell him that he is a stranger on his way to deliver an important message to the "big father" or paramount-chief. He will doubtless introduce himself as a Mohammedan; and after some conversation, will hint that he possesses occult

powers, is a diviner and maker of magic, and knows the law. Having thus impressed his host, he will ask for food and shelter; and, if necessary, for permission to remain in the village for a few days. He will sometimes offer the chief a small present. He is never in a hurry; and if, as is often the case, he is unable to speak the language of the people, he will be accompanied by an interpreter, who is generally a small boy who lives near or in the country through which he is passing. Or the *Malam* may be a trader, carrying his modest wares in a small box; and he would then get permission from the chief to sell them to the people.

Remaining in the village for a few days, or perhaps for weeks, he would doubtless in that time have ingratiated himself with the chief, learnt from him much about the affairs of the country; and incidentally about the paramount-chief himself. He might also have succeeded in making a few converts. If that happens his difficulties are greatly diminished, for he would then have the services or the support of one or more of the local people, who would by then have at least learnt by heart the refrain: "*La ilaha illa 'llah*;" "there is no god but God!" "*Wa Mohammed Rasul Allah*," "and Mohammed is the apostle of God."

After arriving at the last village before the capital is reached, it is possible that, if the *Malam* considers himself to be an important person, he will request the chief of the village to send and inform the paramount-chief that he is coming, and, incidentally, put in a friendly word for him.

This is more or less the procedure that is adopted by thousands of these traveling Moslems over a considerable portion of tropical Africa. During the *Malam's* journey towards the principal town, he might have passed through dozens of villages; and although he may not sleep at many of them, he makes it his business to seek out the chief and spend a little time with him in conversation. If the country through which he is passing happens to be at

war, or in a disturbed state, he has to proceed more cautiously. Arriving at the first village, he will endeavour to impress his importance upon the people; and point out to them that during his journeys through other countries, he has invariably received the assistance and hospitality of all the big chiefs. This last is a most important point, because the natives invariably argue that if a traveler or stranger has come so far unharmed, and is a friend of the big chiefs in the countries through which he has passed, they must certainly continue this help and hospitality, for not to do so might bring trouble upon them. Therefore, in nine cases out of ten the *Malam* will pass unscathed amidst the most barbaric peoples and through the wildest country, receiving, if not help and hospitality, at least no obstruction from the inhabitants.

Arriving at the capital, he will inquire if there are any other Moslems in the town. If so, he will seek them out; and, although unknown to them, will be received as a brother, and be told by them all the local gossip, etc., of the place. If there is no other Mohammedan there, he will make his presence known to the paramount-chief as soon as possible, hand him a small present, ask for permission to remain and possibly trade, adding that he has brought important news, which he will impart to the chief in due course. The news will consist of the gossip of the countries through which he has passed; and above all he will not fail to mention the great power and wonders of the Moslem faith how it is overcoming every obstacle, and so forth.

Having ingratiated himself with the chief, he will retire to his hut, unpack his humble belongings, and probably go to some stream nearby to wash after his journey. Before attempting any serious preaching or teaching, the *Malam* may remain quietly in the town for weeks, making himself known to the people, saying his prayers, and attending to his religious duties regularly in public. He will also make every effort to gain the confidence of the elders and principal people. After some little time he

may have obtained a small following, built a Mosque, and started a school for some of the young children. His interpretations of the teachings of the Koran are always put forth simply; and the points that he first makes are those most likely to appeal strongly to the minds of the rulers and satisfy their conscience. He will mention that the sacred laws allow the keeping of slaves; that polygamy is permitted; that the laws of his creed are practically the same as their laws; that all strangers who are not Mohammedans, including Europeans, must be regarded with suspicion; and that the institution, ceremonies, and secret societies of the country will not be interfered with by his teachings; and, finally, that behind them is God, and "Mohammed is the Apostle of God."

The African being a litigious person, the fact that Islam is closely interwoven with law, also appeals to the minds of the people; for the relationship between their law and religion is close. Religion and law in some form or other has such a firm grasp upon the mind of the native, that nearly all his institutions, most of his actions, and practically all his ceremonies, are, in more or less degree, influenced by them.

The African looks upon the wonders of the universe with an indolent eye, and an uncultured mind, perceiving that it consists of matter which, his religion teaches him, is permeated with spirit. The Mohammedan tells him that this spirit is ruled by, and is, in fact, God. In Africa life to the pagan means spirit; to the Moslem it means God. In the pagan's belief everything is done by the spirits working within matter. His own actions are guided and sometimes compelled by the good or bad spirit dwelling within him. In war, if he is wounded, or his weapons break, and his guns miss fire, it is the spirits that have caused the mischief. Or these spirits have been adversely influenced by other and more powerful spirits, or by witchcraft, which is a different form of the same thing. An enormous number of Mohammedans in Africa hold more or less the same animistic beliefs. The African will

gaze into a river and ask the spirit there to allow him to cross it safely; or if he has an enemy, he appeals to the spirit to cause his death when he attempts to cross the river. He regards death as the action of an evil spirit which has got the better of man, and sickness and disease are put down to the same agency. The Moslem agrees, adding that God has influenced these spirits. As magic is the religion of ordinary life there is often but little difference between the Moslem and heathens. The former's use of amulets and their pilgrimages to the graves of the departed are a means of obtaining magic powers.

Of these numerous spirits, there are the spirits of man, and the ghost spirits, who have no material body. These are the beings who occupy certain territory, and who allow no person to enter therein, and kill them if they try to do so. Then there are the spirits who can help and hinder man and his affairs, and who are able to cause sickness or disease. In addition to these, there are the spirits who are inherited from ancestors, who belong to the family, and who dwell in or near to the house or houses of that family. Another class of spirits are those who are capable of entering into and taking possession of some animal, who is thereby endowed with the intelligence of man. If the spirit of a man's father enters some savage or destructive animal, the former dare not slay it. The creatures and spirits who are able to hinder man and his affairs are those who give power to witches. These can also be made to enter and dwell in charms. The ancestral and protective spirits of the family affect the law of property. A great deal of customary law of the heathen tribes is administered through means of this spirit world. That is, when a law is made and promulgated its infringement is guarded against by the knowledge, gained by experience, that to break it would insure severe punishment at the hands of the spirit world. Fruit trees, and many other kinds of property, are effectively protected in this way. Charms and other such articles believed to contain spirits, and which have passed through the hands of

the priests, are placed upon them; and the belief in their potency is such that no one would dare to interfere with the property which they are intended to protect. When the *Mendi* pass a law in the *Poro*, their national society, to prohibit the cutting of the fruit on certain trees, or against fishing in certain waters, etc., the sign of the *Poro* is placed upon or near them. *Poro* is invariably placed on palm trees at certain seasons of the year to prevent unauthorized people cutting the nuts before they are ripe. The removal of the *Poro* is carried out by a proclamation, which gives the date for its removal. The numerous signs which are used to represent the *Poro* are believed to contain spirits having the power to uphold the laws made by the tribal authority, and punish those offending against them. Not only would offenders be punished by means of these spirits; but they would also be reported to the chief, who has the authority to impose a fine, or inflict other material penalties.

The spirits of the different classes are sometimes able to do the same work, but they do not all possess the same powers. The priests, "medicine men," or "witch doctors," all over Western Africa, possess powers over one or more classes of spirits; and are able, through them, to compel the population to obey the law. They make innumerable charms, into which, after various ceremonies, the spirit is induced to enter, and becomes subject to, or is influenced by the owner of the charm. The priests use various receptacles for the purpose of housing these spirits, the more common being, antelope, cows, or goat horns; little neatly made bundles of leaves, fastened with countrymade twine; and small leather bags. Into these are placed various ingredients which have to undergo certain ceremonies at the hands of the priests. If a charm is made for the purpose of containing a spirit that will work some evil against another person, it must contain some object, that is closely connected with that person. The hair, nails or blood of the person would be necessary, or a piece of cloth that has been in immediate

contact with his body. A number of tribes of Western Africa will not allow their hair or nail parings to fall into another person's hands for fear of the evil effects that might result therefrom. They invariably burn, bury or otherwise destroy them. An exception of this is made by some tribes as regards women's hair. Among the *Mendi* and *Bandi*, a girl's hair is kept by her mother until she grows up, when it is handed back to her. She keeps it carefully and often plaits it in with her own.

The sale or barter of these charms is enormous, and they are used for almost every profession or wish in life, such as peace or war, hunting, farming, fishing, buying, selling, hating, loving, marrying, and killing. The Mohammedan priests being as great believers in many of these charms as the heathens themselves, take advantage of the fact that among most Pagan tribes Moslems are regarded as possessing occult powers, and they sell hundreds of thousands of these charms to the people. At the same time many of them, as part of their magico-religious work, impress upon the buyer that the power of the particular spirit in the charm is influenced by the power of God.

Moslems will wash with rice water their Arabic script; and if this water is drunk by an unbeliever, it will convert him to the true faith. A woman at the instance of a *Malam*, will place a little of the water in which she has washed in the food or drink of her lover in order to increase his affection for her. Mohammedans will often be present at trials by ordeal, and when the culprit has been discovered, will inform the people that it was the power of God which caused the discovery of the guilty one. Both men and women will consult these Moslems, in addition to the ordinary "medicine-men" and obtain charms from them to bring about certain events or satisfy their desires. And herein lies some danger for the white man working in Africa, whether he is missionary, trader, or Government official. The author once had a young male cook of the Sherbro tribe, who, wishing to retain his situation and gain the confidence and affection of his master,

consulted one of these Moslem priests, or *Mori-Men*. Upon the payment of a fee, this cook was given a concoction called *nessie*, with which he had to wash, and afterwards allow a little of the stuff to find its way into his master's food. The power of God, he was told, would cause the *nessie* to work satisfactorily. Fortunately the cook's action was discovered, and he was prosecuted and sentenced to a term of imprisonment.³ The *Mori-Man* who afterwards disappeared, was one of the increasing number of itinerant natives who have been converted to Islam in the hinterland of Sierra Leone. They are given the name of *Mori*, *Moremo*, or *Moremoi*, this being a corruption of the word *Moor*. They are now to be found nearly everywhere throughout the Protectorate, and are carrying out in a greater or less degree the same propaganda work that is going on in other parts of Africa. Some are genuine Mohammedans, but others are not, although the latter pass for the genuine article. Their practice in religion is an outward effort to adapt themselves to the more popular religious society in dress; by hanging their amulets in a different way, and by the meaningless repetition of a few simple prayers. They are here as elsewhere exercising a considerable influence over the chiefs, and members of the various secret societies; and are consulted by the chiefs in many matters connected with the country political, legal or otherwise. A number of them pose as native lawyers, and endeavour to introduce into the customary laws of the people as much Moslem Law as suits their purpose. Beatty says, "That a feature of the Sierra Leone hinterland is the remarkable way in which Mohammedan *Mori-Men* are associated with every form of magic, medicine, witchcraft, secret society, and every sort of trickery."

The population of Sierra Leone and its Protectorate is now approximately 1,500,000, the majority of the tribes being Pagan. In most of the larger towns on the coast, there is a considerable Mohammedan population. There

³Six months imprisonment by the Commissioners Court. 1903.

are five Mohammedan schools in Freetown, with 800 pupils.

In a number of cases that have come to my notice, and which have presented some difficulty to the chiefs and their courts to decide, one or more of these *Mori-Men* would be consulted, and the advice given by them would be either in accordance with the teachings of the Koran, or with what knowledge they possess of Mohammedan law, or their own interpretation of it.

The case of a Mendi widow who claimed, under the laws of her country, the property obtained from her husband by gift during his lifetime, and also the retention of the property she had secured through her own earnings, was not decided by the chiefs, until it had been referred to certain Moslems for their opinions. The claimant was not free born when she married, that is, she was in law a slave, whose husband had been born free. According to Mendi law, her marriage with a free man did not secure her freedom, although the children of the marriage would be free. Her brother by the same father and a free born mother, and therefore a free man, became a Mohammedan, and claimed the property under an impediment to succession. The impediment under consideration was the fact that the claimant was a slave. There are four impediments to succession, namely:—

- (1) Servitude.
- (2) Homicide.
- (3) Difference of religion; and,
- (4) Difference of country.

This case was tried in the court of Native Chiefs who could not agree; and it was referred by them to the *Mori-Men*. The latter advised that the impediment of servitude was established, when the chiefs gave judgment for the brother, who secured all the property. It may be added that subsequently the property obtained through the earnings of the widow was restored to her by her brother.

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New Orleans, La.

NOTES ON CURRENT TOPICS

A New Movement in Arabia

Writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* Dr. Paul W. Harrison, of the Arabian Mission, describes the present situation in Arabia resulting from the aftermath of war; he shows that the equilibrium at the present moment is extremely unstable. "The British have set up the Shereef of Mecca in his present position. What they hoped to accomplish by his revolt from Turkish rule is fairly obvious. Theoretically the Caliph, who is the successor of Mohammed, is the temporal as well as the spiritual ruler of all Mohammedans, and actually he does exert an enormous influence over them, whatever flag they may be under. No one can be Caliph who does not rule over the Hejaz, thus acting as Warden of the Holy Cities; and for centuries the Sultan of Turkey has been universally recognized by Mohammedans as their Caliph. Now if the Shereef of Mecca could be assisted in a successful revolt, and be made independent, his claims to the Caliphate would be far stronger than those of the Sultan of Turkey, inasmuch as the Holy Cities would be in his hands. Therefore, he would be universally acclaimed as Caliph in the Sultan's place. Just what military advantage would have accrued, even if the scheme had proved a success, it is not easy to see. It is possible that the task of picking the bones of the Turkish Empire might have been somewhat more pleasant, inasmuch as the strenuous protests of the Mohammedans in India would have been less in evidence.

"Of course, it did not succeed. Nothing but the stupidity of a military commander could have imagined that it would. The Shereef is execrated in India, to a degree almost past belief. In some places it has become a disgrace instead of an honor to go on the pilgrimage to Mecca. He is held in semi-humorous contempt all over Arabia. His hopes of being acclaimed as Caliph are laughed at or cursed, according to the temper of the individual commenting on them. Not a single voice of approval is heard in all this chorus of condemnation.

"After showing the reasons for this failure and the insecurity of the throne of the Shereef, he describes the real power of Arabia as residing in "the *Achwan*, a small fanatical brotherhood of Mohammedan Puritans, who had for their object the training of the Bedouins, or desert Arabs, in the more careful observance of religious rites. Those who qualified as teachers wore a white head-dress as a badge of their office. The movement spread beyond all the expectations of its founders. One of its cardinal doctrines is that raiding or looting or otherwise injuring a 'brother' is a crime of the gravest sort, and as a result the movement worked as a steadily strengthening bond, uniting the discordant tribes of inland Arabia into a coherent and fanatical whole.

"The war ended with a totally new situation. Turkish and German influence are gone. For the Arab the outside world is composed of Great Britain and in a small degree of France. The sheikhs of Bahrein, Kuwait and Oman have names and names only. They are negli-

gible when we consider the present situation. As things stand today, there are two men of importance in Arabia. One is the Shereef of Mecca, whose successful revolt from Turkish rule was really a British military manoeuvre, camouflaged. The Shereef is not himself a leader of force. He has never been able to command the loyalty of his own subjects, to say nothing of the turbulent Bedouins outside. His present success and position are the result of British gold, and of very little else, if Arab opinion can be trusted. Just how much money has been spent on the Shereef, it is not possible for any ordinary man to say; but making all possible allowances for exaggeration the amount must have been enormous.

"The other man in Arabia is Bin Saoud. When a world is divided between two men each anxious for all of it, a delicate situation is created. Bin Saoud rules pretty well all Arabia properly so called, except the small strip governed by the Shereef and the southern coast. The fanatical inland Bedouins follow him with a devotion that is past all description. A born ruler of men, he has succeeded in uniting Central Arabia as it has not been united for centuries. The wild Bedouins of the desert and the more mercenary and luxurious Arabs of the towns are alike in their loyalty. Under his rule, life and property have become safe and such prosperity is enjoyed as Arabia never dreamed of before.

"But the real power in Arabia is held by neither of these. The Bedouin brotherhood of religious fanatics that began so unostentatiously ten years ago has grown like a green bay tree. Thousands and tens of thousands are enrolled under its banner now. However imperfectly they may be instructed in the tenets of their faith, nothing is lacking in their fanatical enthusiasm. Bin Saoud is their political and religious head, and it is they who make him strong. These men, in their furious desire for martyrdom in the cause of God bring to mind the lurid days when men of this same race, inspired by the same sort of wild fanaticism, threatened to carry the flag of Mohammedanism over the whole of Europe. Their eagerness for martyrdom seems to increase with their increasing numbers."

A Mosque for Paris

Recently the French Parliament voted half a million francs for the construction of a Mosque and Mussulman Institute in Paris. The Society of the Habous of the Holy Places of Islam was entrusted with the building, and the president, Ben Gabrit, who had appealed to the three French colonies of Algeria, Tunisia, and Morocco, for a contribution of 150,000f each, has been informed that there will be no difficulty in raising the money. Algeria has, in fact, nominated an *imam* for the Mosque. So that the Mosque may have the necessary sacred character, Mussulman architects will furnish the plans. The Municipal Council will give the land, and it is expected that the Mosque and Institute will be built in the vicinity of the Invalides. The Institute will contain a study-room for Mussulman students—who, it is anticipated, will come to Paris in greater numbers—a lending library of French and Arab books, and a lecture hall. There will be another room reserved for exhibitions of the best in Oriental art and industry. The Institute will be managed by distinguished natives of Algeria, Tunisia, Morocco, Equatorial and West Africa, who are members of the Society of the Habous of the Holy Places of Islam. With the help of the French Government the society has es-

tablished at Mecca and Medina hostels for Mussulmans of the French colonies who make a pilgrimage to the Holy Cities of Mohammed.

The Awakening in Ibi

The Sudan United Mission is designed to work among pagans. One station, however, mainly for administrative reasons, was opened at Ibi, which is a Mohammedan town of recent growth. The people are chiefly immigrant from the Northern Mohammedan States, or pagans from the surrounding districts who have become Mohammedan. A considerable number of the people have been slaves. It is eleven years since the station was opened, and for a large part of that time little impression appeared to be made on the people. They were personally friendly (though there was strong opposition to the Christian faith) and relations have grown still more cordial with the years, but the number of responsible people in town who gave their hearts to Christ was small.

In the past year a change has taken place which shows promise and makes one look on the problem of winning Islam with new hope. A considerable number of people are now interested in the Christian faith.

The change in Ibi must be attributed to a young Mohammedan teacher, Mohamma Tera, who was converted in the autumn of 1919. His father was born a pagan but was converted to Islam and spared no pains to ensure that his son should be educated in the Mohammedan faith. Mohamma justified his father's care and became a zealous Mohammedan. His scholarship is only moderate but he is keen witted, quick in repartee and shrewd in the use of argument.

He was in contact with Christianity for about eight years before his conversion, while servant to a European, but though he saw a true Christian life being lived, he did not swerve in his allegiance to Mohammed. His first interest in Christianity as a religion for a black man was aroused by three Christians, friends of his, working in a town some seventy miles from Ibi. The interest kindled by them brought Mohamma to our mission stations and he finally settled down to attend school in Ibi. The Scripture lessons in school greatly interested him, the straightforward narrative of the Bible being very different to the involved and frequently meaningless contents of the Koran. In quite a short time he had grasped the position of Jesus as Divine and a Saviour and accepted Him as his Saviour.

From the first he preached to his friends, retelling such things as he had heard in school. Mohamma Tera came, a native, bred a Mohammedan, now believing Christ to be a Saviour, but with so little knowledge of the details of our Christian faith that in his early preaching he must have taken his ideas largely from Islam, and at once there was interest.

Mohamma's activity grew with his knowledge, and the interest displayed by the people grew with both. It was noticeable that as his knowledge of Christ became greater his appreciation of Mohammed grew less. At first Mohammed was a great prophet, though excelled by Jesus, who was divine. Then, as the clear honesty of Jesus' life was perceived, the cunning and worldliness of Mohammed were seen, and he was at last summed up as only a successful worldly chief. Quotations from the Koran, at first used as of unquestioned authority, were later used only because the Mohammedans accepted them as authoritative.

His great positive theme was "Christ is the Son of God." Criticism was made that the Atonement was left out. Mohamma replied that the Mohammedans knew Jesus, but ranked Him as only one of the prophets and patriarchs, and that as such His death would mean nothing. When they accepted Jesus as the Son of God, then His death would be a very different thing, and they could grasp the idea of atonement. The reply is interesting, as giving a possible Mohammedan point of view. One should not lay too much stress either on the omission or on the reply, for at the time Mohamma was still comparatively ignorant of the Christian faith, and was a novice at preaching.—*The Light Bearer*.

Girl Scouts at Cairo

A writer in the local press gives the following version of a song for the Girl Scouts in Egypt. The society was formed by Mme. Aiyisha Fakhrya, and the composer is Khalil Effendi Mutran, an Arab poet. It has been set to music by Gamil Effendi Ezzat:

"We are the lights of intelligence,
We are the good news of the times,
We are the scouts of the fatherland.

"By knowledge and virtues,
By nobility of character,
We are the scouts of the fatherland.

"By purity in deed and thought,
By sublime qualities,
By the forces we prepare
For the fatherland to be great,
We are the scouts of the fatherland.

"By sacrificing ourselves
That the fatherland may live for ever,
Free and powerful,
Honored and firm,
We are the scouts of the fatherland."

Government and Missions to Moslems

The policy of Government was stated by Colonel Amery in the last session of the House of Commons, in reply to Mr. Inskip, as wishing the educational and Christianizing work of Christian missions to continue "except in Moslem districts." These words, combined with the actual position in the Northern Provinces of Nigeria, can only mean that Government wishes to discourage and prevent missionary work in Moslem districts, which is very different from the policy of neutrality which used to be claimed by the British Government and which is loyally accepted by missionary societies. Dr. Walter Miller has pointed out that the Government has not been able to preserve Mohammedanism from dangerous disintegration, and has only succeeded in excluding the counteracting beneficent influence of Christianity. He writes:

"I find everywhere throughout this country the tenets of Islam and its leading precepts being overthrown. Religious observances are breaking down; a huge wave of materialism, unchecked by the stronger influences of Christianity, is pouring in and swamping all the social, moral, and religious bulwarks of the land. Thieving, highway robbery, total lack of commercial or social honor, are rapidly and dangerously on the increase. The Government of Nigeria, by its refusal to allow the purifying influences of Christian thought

to come in with the inrush of material prosperity and its accompanying temptations, has precipitated the very thing it tried to avoid. A leading Moslem, a member of one of the oldest Moslem families of Nigeria, said to me recently: 'Mohammedanism as a real power for good is dead.'

Major-General Gray, with over twenty years' experience of West Africa, including unofficial membership in the Gold Coast Legislative Assembly, writes:

"At the present time a Christian missionary is not allowed to open mission schools or to preach the Gospel in the principal towns of Northern Nigeria, whereas Mohammedan priests can preach and teach all over the country. English has not been taught in the government subsidized schools. The consequence is that the large population of Northern Nigeria in the big towns are limited to Arabic teaching. What this means can be understood only by those who have a knowledge of Egyptian, Turkish, and Indian affairs. The working policy of the Government hitherto has been to prevent English instruction being given to the population. . . . The system of government set up in Nigeria will have to be altered at the root."

—*G. M. S. Review.*

Alphabetical Index to Arabic Traditions

We have received a third communication from Professor A. J. Wensinck, in regard to the Index which is being prepared by the cooperation of leading Orientalists. We are glad to share it with our readers, especially as he himself writes in this number on the importance of the study of Tradition.

"Since the appearance of the second communication (*THE MOSLEM WORLD*, 1918, p. 216) the following gentlemen have joined the work: Dr. C. van Arendonk, Leyden; Rev. R. Bell, Beattock; Rev. J. Robertson Buchanan, Culrose; A. Fück, Frankfort; W. Neffening, Frankfort; Rev. Brockwell King, Toronto; F. Krenkow, Quorn; Prof. Laughlin, Toronto; Dr. L. Mayer, Berlin; Prof. Dr. A. Schaade, Hamburg; Dr. A. S. Sidiki, Aligarh; F. Taontal, Cairo; T. U. Weir, Glasgow.

"Still the collaboration of more Orientalists remains desirable. Large parts of Bukhari's text have been treated. Nearly all the chapters are being prepared. Of the other collections of traditions sundry pieces are finished.

"It appears that of Darimi's text at least one Oriental edition exists which is not inferior to those of the other authors. On this ground as also with a view to the high cost of printing, Professor Snouck Hurgronje thinks it advisable to abandon the project of a new edition. As regards an edition of Ibn Madja, a decision has not yet been arrived at."

A Turkish Writer on Sherwood Eddy's Visit

The Orient, a weekly paper published at Constantinople, tells of the effects of Dr. Sherwood Eddy's visit in Constantinople as follows:

"To Dr. Sherwood Eddy. I was present at the addresses you gave on Thursday afternoon and Friday morning. At the time I chanced to go to hear you, I confess (bitter as such a confession is to me) that like many young men of my acquaintance I was empty, morally useless, a non-entity. I listened in deep humility as you spoke of those three priceless foundations of human life,—character, faith, purity. Such feelings were awakened in me as you talked of these and of your own and others' ex-

periences concerning them, that I wish to try to be so fortunate as to convey to you my feelings of gratitude. The three things that bring about internal convulsions in nations, the three cancerous sores in political and social life, are the very ones you treated,—lack of character, loss of faith, and impurity.

"Our national development from a small tribe to a powerful race, the securing of a brilliant place in history through the might of our swords and shields, have not been by a miracle. We won them through the hopes generated by character, through the strength of our firm faith, and through the help of a spotless purity. But in time, our ambition to excel made us forget these elements of a people's power, and we fell into a whirlpool; we were unable to save ourselves, and went from one misfortune to another. No hand of help was stretched out to help us, and we were choked in the smoke and the mists of the world, till at last we came to our present condition. Now you say to us: 'If you wish to live, and to have a future, it is not too late. You can wake from the torpor of your carelessness by getting back your strength of character, your immovable faith and your ancient purity.' Yes, if there is one thing that a nation like ours, shaken by many a storm, needs to do, it is to get back to the virtues it used to have; for they are the elements of social strength, and we need them desperately. These cardinal virtues,—character, faith, purity,—we must lay hold of them, mingle them, and make from them a strong moral fibre that is the absolute necessity for our future life.

"You say again: 'Nations rise, flourish, and fall; but they may rise again and once more become great.' Yes, and this too take place only by attaining character, faith and purity. This character we shall attain only by a fierce struggle against ourselves, by governing our thoughts and passions. This strong faith we shall secure by paying careful attention to our holy religion. This spotless purity we shall get by resisting every impure thought and stubbornly fighting the activity of such desires. We shall gain the right to live only by building on these foundations, if we would be a nation that can direct its own destiny.

"As you closed your address and left the hall, I felt that a great change had come over me. My heart beat with a kindlier human interest, my soul was filled with lofty thoughts and desires, my mind was freed from sinful thoughts. Your answers to life's problems helped me to be strong, and gave me a new start, a new life. Through the influence of your personality, and by your wonderfully life-giving words, I found myself. I can never forget how you showed me my real self. In absolute sincerity, you became the faithful interpreter, during those two intense hours, of the things I wanted to think out and could not, or thought of and could not express. As you spoke, I felt that the person talking in front of me was not you, it was my conscience in human form, it was virtue incarnate, it was the highest humanity represented in a single person. I bow in respectful acknowledgment of such moral greatness; and henceforth when the name of Dr. Sherwood Eddy is mentioned, I shall always see before me this lofty ideal."

Educational Needs of the Near East

At the Liverpool Congress of the Roman Catholic Church, Lady Sykes, well-known for her work of exploration and her books on the Near East, read an interesting paper on the educational needs of the Near East. It was published in full in the *Tablet*. By permission of

that paper we summarize its contents. Even those who do not agree with all the positions taken will heartily agree in the hope expressed for a new Near East.

"The Christian world, as we know it, may be divided into two great halves—Eastern and Western. Broadly speaking, the distinction between what we call the Western Church and the Eastern Church is one of Patriarchates; that of the West having the Bishop of Rome as Patriarch, while that of the East was divided into three, of which the Patriarch of Constantinople was the chief; both, of course, recognized the Pope as the supreme head of the Church.

"What are the problems of the Middle East that have to be solved by those who stand with the sword of victory still grasped in their hands, looking out upon a shattered world?

"There are two great problems to face; the first is political, and does not concern us here—it is to bind the Turk so that he can no longer divide Europe against itself; the second is to redeem from bondage the Asiatic peoples whom the Turks have oppressed. That is our concern. A period of assistance, sponsorship, education and development must intervene before these peoples can hope to evolve stable and self-supporting institutions. During this period life and property must be secured: even those that are capable of self-government are incapable of self-defense. These Christian bodies, once great and flourishing communities, have been reduced, through centuries of barbarous and unprogressive tyranny, to subjugation and misery. The periodic massacres of the Armenian population in Asia Minor are a cause of shame to those great Powers who upheld the Ottoman Empire. During the war these barbarities were renewed with horrible cruelties, and not only the Armenians, but other Christians—notably the Chaldeans—were butchered unmercifully.

"We have a responsibility towards these fellow-Christians of the East from which we cannot escape. Reduced in many cases to a mere handful, they look to us to lift them out of the darkness of despair and the fear of complete annihilation. Their defense from the foes surrounding them we must of necessity leave to the politicians, but we can, by constantly voicing their cause, influence in their favor those in whose hands the government of our Empire now rests. Do not let us forget that the franchise has given to us great political power, which we can use for good or for ill.

"The East is crying out towards the West for sympathy, help, and perhaps eventually for reunion. The Protestant religion is too subversive of all their theology and ideas to attract them. I cannot better describe this than by relating a conversation I once had with a Syrian gentleman at Beirut. He had been educated at the American College, and brought up as a Protestant. He said: 'There are two sorts of men, warm-blooded, such as men and animals, and cold-blooded like the reptiles and fishes. The Catholic religion is warm-blooded, but the Protestants, it is cold-blooded like the fishes be.' In the past I travelled much with my husband in Turkey, in Asia Minor, Syria and Palestine. In most of the larger towns were to be found American missionaries of the uncompromisingly severe evangelical type; they had medical missions, schools and colleges. Self-sacrificing, good people, with unlimited funds to support them, but always carrying with them that calamity of creeds 'cold-blooded like the fishes.'

"To Great Britain has now been given the mandate over Mesopotamia and Palestine. To the Oriental, the Englishman has 'Yellow hair, blue eyes, and is a Protestant'; they always describe you thus on your passport; you may say you are a Catholic or anything else, but you will always be put down as a Protestant. The administration is therefore in Protestant hands, with a strong dash of Indo-pro-moslemism, if I may coin a word. The practical problem now before us is, how can the Catholics of Great Britain best assist in the education of these peoples, and in the reconstruction of the Uniat Churches of the East? To my mind it is our bounden duty to do so. The young generation in Palestine wants to learn English, which has come to mean the language of authority. They will go to English schools; if we don't provide Catholic schools they will go to non-Catholic schools. We well know with what danger to their faith. The situation bristles with difficulties; hitherto the Catholic education has been in the hands of the French and Italians; we must avoid in any way injuring these establishments, for they have done much good in the past, but it seems to me that the position of the Church in the East is so critical, it is such a moment to be seized, that there is surely room for all the united Catholic effort of the West to combine in this great work. United, the Eastern Church would be so strong; divided, it is so weak. What, then can be done to strengthen the Uniats' position, to break down the barriers of rivalry between one Uniat body and another, to weld them together into one harmonious whole? Father Leighton, who was chaplain to our forces in the East, showed me some photographs of a great Corpus Christi procession he organized at Bagdad in June, 1919, in which all the different Uniats took part; never had they been brought together like that before, never before had the timid Christians dared to come out into the open; the crowd of respectful Moslems looking on was a proof of the success of the venture. Oh for more courage and boldness of this kind!

"What then are the special and immediate needs? A seminary under a British superior. A large orphanage to cope with the hundreds of destitute children left unprotected and starving from the massacres of Chaldeans in Northern Mesopotamia. Schools for boys and for girls. It is of vital importance that we should not let all the English education fall into non-Catholic hands. My personal bias is for the religious orders in this work. Nuns of the teaching orders for the girls, some body like the Christian Brothers for the education of the boys. I think, too, that great help might come from America. It is from there that so much money and so many Protestant missionaries have flowed to the East.

"A powerful appeal from those in authority launched far and wide into every English-speaking land—to our Colonies, to America, from which so much money has already come, but scarcely any of it into Catholic hands—would surely result in a response that would enable a central fund to be formed for the reconstruction of the Uniat churches and schools.

"I have a vision of a regenerated East, the barren deserts of Mesopotamia and Syria once more alive with a teeming, prosperous population, the great cities rising again from their ashes, Armenia restored to its former greatness, the devastating rule of the Ottoman Empire swept away and the church bells once more calling the faithful to Mass."

BOOK REVIEWS

Studies in Islamic Poetry. By R. A. Nicholson, Litt.D., LL.D. Cambridge University Press. 26/-net.

Our only grumble against this book is really based on the fact, which is hardly Dr. Nicholson's fault, that there is no dual number in the English language. One opens this book eagerly expecting to find a delectable miscellany of subjects, and behold! two only; or we might even say, one and a bittock. The truth is, the title is somewhat misleading. With the exception of the first forty-two pages, the book is entirely devoted to a single subject, the study of the great nationalistic poet of the Eleventh Century, Abû'l-'Alâ al Ma'arrî. Those other forty-two pages are on a subject totally unrelated to this, even in language, namely, "An Early Persian Anthology." This sort of loose stitching together of disproportionate and non-assorted brochures under some plausible general title savours of "book-making," which is a thing *makrûh* if not *harâm*! From every point of view therefore we could have wished that the book had been entitled simply "A Study of Al-Ma'arrî." The author's work in this subject is, both in quantity (247 pp) and admirable quality, entirely worthy of a book and a title all to itself.

We are very grateful to Dr. Nicholson for his admirable work on a "modernist" poet of nearly a millenium ago, who—with others of the *muta'akhhirîn*—has been badly neglected by English Orientalists, though there is far more of living interest in his writings than there is in the much-vaunted, much-studied, and much-commented-on ancient classics. Dr. Nicholson's method, too, is most helpful, for his chapters and sections are arranged along the line of the different aspects of Ma'arrî's versatile and restless thought, each section containing valuable critical remarks on one such aspect, together with illustrative extracts from the *Luzûmiyyât*, excellently selected and carefully translated. Inestimable is the service thus rendered by this scholar to us poor lesser mortals, to whom both time and ability are lacking to explore these real treasures. *O si sic omnes!* May the author be spared to open up to western readers many more treasure-houses of the Orient.

To those who know Arabic Dr. Nicholson completes his service by printing in an appendix the Arabic (sufficiently but not fully vowelled) of all the excerpts from his Ma'arrî anthology, 332 in number, each containing from two to ten verses. A great boon.

The translations are in verse, in very varying metres. Dr. Nicholson must have taken a dreadful amount of time over these verses; which makes it seem all the more ungrateful to confess that for our part they, and about all verse translations of Arabic poetry, leave us cold. It is not merely that the aroma of Araby the blest seems to vanish in the process; but that the scents of various hair lotions of the west take its place. It always seems to us that the spirit of an Arabic *qasida*, with its incessant cadences and fresh starts, is far better suggested by a strong, poetical, prose translation. Compare for example No. 308 with No. 310 on the next page.

Dr. Nicholson has, however, tried yet another device, following Sir

Charles Lyall, in order to conserve the Arabic aroma, avoiding prose on the one hand and foreign verse effects on the other: he has attempted to reproduce in English the Arabic metres themselves. The *qâfiya* he abandons as hopeless; his lines are wholly unrhymed. But he would have the reader believe that at least the metre is reproduced, or suggested: and that the resulting measures "have a perfume that clings to thee still" (see p. 55).

It grieves us again to have to say that in our opinion this is yet another instance of love's labor lost. Interested, curious, and sympathetic though we are, we must truthfully say that the author might have spared himself this trouble also. We are asked to believe for example that the following verse yields, or even can be forced to yield even a "shadowy resemblance" (p. 55) to a verse in *Al-Basit*:

"'Tis want of wit to disdain good counsel frankly bestowed." We gasp—and are finally reduced to counting the syllables. A *Basit* verse has fourteen and this verse just quoted has fourteen! Well! we think that the similarity begins and ends just there. And this is a favorable specimen. In the lower levels one gets lines like:

"Oûr camêls dûe/ sâddlêr wrôught/ ôf frågrânt In/ dĩân wôod/"!

We have read Dr. Robert Bridges' experiments in English prosodical hexameters where accent is ignored. Utterly unconvinced they left us: but at least they were prosodical. But Dr. Nicholson makes no attempt to observe prosody (compare "of" before "wit"; "dis" before "dain", and even "els" before "due", above); and therefore presumably relies upon accent. But how weakly, tamely and ineffectively! We prefer Burton's imitation of *Basit*, which at least emphasized the strong accent that in the Arabic nearly always falls on the third last syllable in the cadence. No! It won't do! The English language is not built on these lines. It seems to us that the more conversant a reader is with the real *Basit*, *Tawîl*, etc., the less easily can he be brought, or can bring himself, to recognize the great originals in these shadows of a shade. But if this is really so, then the failure of the experiment is complete.

Far more interesting (and very interesting it is) is the attempt to reproduce these Arabic *bahr*'s in Latin. Here the experiment is absolutely legitimate and hopeful: and for this simple reason, that Latin verse is like Arabic, completely prosodical. It is accentual as well. And thus the lilt of the Arabic metres can be truly and curiously reproduced. In fact we make bold to say that had such translations appeared B. C. we should have divers "Arabics" figuring alongside of "Sapphics" and "Alcaics," etc., in Horace and Catullus!

W. H. T. GAIRDNER.

A Handbook of Libya. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. H.M. Stationery Office, London. Price 7s. 6d. net. pp. 628. Maps.

A handbook of detailed accurate information on the Province of Libya, the Italian territory between Tunisia and Egypt with an area of nearly 500,000 sq. miles. The population consists of two main elements, Berbers and Arabs, although the Negro population is also considerable. The notes on the Mohammedans and Turks are very meagre, those on the history of Libya are more satisfactory. There are two hundred pages on the desert routes, a vocabulary of nearly one hundred pages, twenty-four plans of inland and coast towns, three excellent maps, and a very full index. We know of no better account of this part of the Moslem world in so small a compass.

S. M. Z.

The Poems of 'Amr Son of Qami'ah of the clan of Qais Son of Tha'labah. Edited and translated by Sir Charles Lyall, D.Litt., Fellow of the British Academy. Cambridge University Press, 1919. 21 shillings net.

This volume gives a sample of the work of one of the most conspicuous pre-Islamic poets, dating from the fifth century, A. D. The introduction is decidedly technical, but adequate for ordinary use. The poems consist of sixteen parts almost entirely made up of eulogies, and enthusiastic praise of the tribe in general and particularly of the uncle of the poet, Murtadd. The pointed Arabic text is printed in large clear type, and the accompanying English translation is equally satisfactory in plain readable text. The collection will be interesting only as a purely literary production with very little light on matters of history. The footnotes and comments show considerable critical skill.

R. S. M.

An Eastern Library. By V. C. Scott O'Connor, with two catalogues of its Persian and Arabic Manuscripts, combined by Khan Sahib Abdul Muqtadir and Abdul Hamid. Glasgow: Printed at the University by Robert Maclehose. 10s. 6d. net.

Missionaries in India have a rare opportunity when visiting Patna to see one of the most interesting and beautiful collections of Oriental books. It is one of the finest collections of Moslem literature in the world. According to the introduction describing the Library, there is nothing in the world to surpass "the exquisite calligraphy, the enamelled gold, the priceless miniatures, the colors of *lapis-lazuli* and vermillion, of indigo and scarlet, green, purple, cinnabar and saffron, of some of these illuminated pages." It was my pleasure some years ago to see the collection, and the reader of this volume will long for a similar opportunity. The book consists of two parts, the first describing the library itself as founded by Mohammed Baksh, and added to by his distinguished son Khuda Baksh. The second part gives a partial list of the Persian and Arabic manuscripts. There are four exquisite colored plates and five drawings in sepia.

S. M. Z.

Documents Inédits pour servir à l'Histoire du Christianisme en Orient (Recueillis par le Père Antoine Rabbath, S. J.). Tome Second 3e Fascicule. Published by P. Francois Tournebize, S.J. Beyrouth: Imprimerie Catholique. 1921. pp. 644. frs. 12.

In cooperation with Father Francois Tournebize, S.J., and others, Father Antoine Rabbath, S.J., collected about two thousand manuscripts concerning the history of Christianity in the Orient, the first five fascicules of which were published during 1906 to 1911. Father Antoine Rabbath died in 1913, but the good work was continued, and we now have pleasure in bringing to the notice of our readers this second part of the work which consists of three fascicules, the first of which was edited in 1914, but which owing to the war has not made its appearance until the present time. It is a most valuable work, and consists of over a hundred documents, some in Latin, others in Italian, but the main part in French. The two most ancient are two letters addressed to Charles Quintus by the patriarch and the principal Maronites, in which, as far back as 1614, they beg him to come to Syria and deliver them from the Turks.

It is indeed a most interesting work and no missionary library would be complete without it.

L. S. R.

Colloquial Arabic. The Shuwa Dialect of Bornu, Nigeria and region of Lake Chad. By G. J. Lethem, M.A. London: Crown Agents for the Colonies. pp. xv and 488.

This is a most useful book; the grammar occupies a hundred and eighty pages, the proverbs and folklore fifty pages, while rather more than half the book is vocabulary. As the book is small, it can easily be carried in the pocket.

Much of this Nigerian Arabic is surprisingly readable to an Anglo-Egyptian. The cardinal numbers show that there is much more affinity to Egyptian colloquial than to Algerian; but on glancing at the map we see that the eastern shore of Lake Chad is half way between the Niger and the Nile, and the author's most interesting introductory note gives an idea of the time and manner of the immigration of tribes of Arab descent from the eastern Sudan.

The book is carefully printed, and, so far as one can judge, remarkably free from mistakes. Of course the usual criticism holds that, although the system of transliteration adopted is the best of its kind, yet transliteration as a whole is a poor substitute for the Arabic character. May we not hope that in future editions—when labor and paper are cheaper—it may be printed in the Arabic character. The price is not stated.

A. T. UPSON.

Bulletin of The School of Oriental Studies, London Institution. Published by the School. Agents: Messrs. Luzac & Co., London. Vol. I, Part IV. 1920. 6/-

This number has only one article of special interest to students of Islam. The others deal with the Far East and India. Major Edward Noel contributes a most interesting paper on the character of the Kurds as illustrated by their proverbs, contending that the Kurds have all the good characteristics of mountaineers together with their clannish pride. The morality of the Kurdish woman is famous. In nearly all tribes adultery is punished with death. The conception of marriage is on a much higher plane than that of other Moslems in the Near East. The Kurdish woman is comparatively free: marriages are made not by purchase, but as the result of courtship, and in the union the wife plays by no means a secondary part.

Ittihad al Muslimin. (The Union of the Mohammedans) Islam—Its Past, Present and Future. Jalal Nuri Bey. 333 pp. Cairo. 1920.

This appeal to Pan-Islamism was written in Turkish, in 1913, following the close of the Balkan wars, by a prominent Turkish jurist. The book has now been translated into Arabic in answer to an urgent request on the part of the late Mohammed Bey Farid, the head of the Egyptian Nationalist Party. The purpose of the author is to unite Islam in order to withstand the advance of Christianity and the expansion policy of European nations. "We know clearly that England covets Mesopotamia," p. 66. "England approves of gross injustice and the useless sacrifice of blood in her colonies," p. 127. "The Indians, the Egyptians, and the Algerians hate to be reckoned as French or English," p. 20. "The missionaries especially the Jesuits, as in Syria for example, have corrupted the youth," p. 34. The book reveals itself to be plainly prejudiced propaganda, and it is interesting reading in the light of the nationalistic agitations in Moslem countries.

The chapter on the Khalifa charges England with having strived to rob Turkey of the Khalifate. Other nations as well have attempted to lessen its power, for it is the symbol of Islamic unity. The author fore-

sees the European war, and predicts that Germany will win. The unrest produced by this turmoil will be Islam's opportunity.

Although Jalal Nuri Bey realizes the decay and weakness of Islam, he hopes it may yet be remedied by union and reform. He bemoans the fact that the door of *igtiḥad* has been closed and that investigation in science, ethics and philosophy has been forbidden. By freedom of thought, he believes that Islam will again gain its lost position. But one is reminded of the memorable words of Lord Cromer, "Islam reformed, is Islam no longer."

E. E. ELDER.

"The Arabian Prophet. A Life of Mohammed from Chinese and Arabic Sources." Translated by Isaac Mason. With an Appendix on Chinese Mohammedanism. Foreword by Rev. S. M. Zwemer, F.R.G.S. About 300 pages, well illustrated. Christian Literature Society, Shanghai. Cloth binding; price, Mex. \$2.50.

This is a very useful biography for those interested in the Moslems of China. It shows how the history of Islam has been "touched up" so as to meet Chinese prejudices, for example, (page 60) Khadija is distinctly stated *not* to have been a widow! Also Mohammed is represented as having been always a prophet, thus flatly denying established historical facts. As Dr. Zwemer says in his Foreword: "Most of the material given is familiar to the student of Arabic literature, but it is of deep interest to see how the mass of traditions has been sifted, adjusted, and even deliberately falsified to fit in with Chinese ideas and ideals."

The book is a useful companion to Broomhall's "Islam in China."

ARTHUR T. UPSON.

The Encyclopædia of Islam. A Dictionary of the Geography, Ethnography and Biography of the Mohammedan Peoples. By M. Th. Houtsma, T. W. Arnold, R. Basset, and H. Bauer. No. 25. *Idjtihad—I'rah*. London: Luzac & Co.

We welcome this new issue of the Encyclopædia as proof that the end of the war may see the completion of the great work of which our readers have had reviews from time to time. Professor Macdonald contributes a number of specially interesting articles including *Ifrit*, *Ilah*, *Iman*, etc. Professor Wensinck, of Leyden, writes on *Idris* and *Ilyas*, identifying the former with Enoch and the latter with Elias. The two longest articles are a survey of Islam in India by T. W. Arnold, and in the Dutch East Indies by A. W. Nieuwenhuis. We would call special attention to the article on the Gospel (*Indjil*) by Carra de Vaux, which gives a complete account of Gospel versions and recensions and shows the influence of the New Testament on Moslem tradition and literature. His conclusions regarding the general respect shown the Gospel by Moslems needs a supplementary statement: the impression given is that Moslems accept the Gospel as genuine and authoritative. There is no reference to the Gospel of Barnabas, nor is there an article on the subject. This is the more to be regretted as this spurious gospel is being widely advertised in the Moslem press today.

S. M. ZWEMER.

A Consulting Surgeon in the Near East. By Lt. Col. A. H. Tubby. London: Christophers. pp. 279, price 15/-.

We call attention to this fascinating account of surgical work in the Near East. Colonel Tubby's record of his service in Gallipoli and Egypt is of permanent interest to the general reader because of the war, and to the professional reader because of his graphic account of experiences and problems connected with the work of the Army Medical Service. Although there is slight reference to social or missionary conditions, and no mention of Islam, medical missionaries cannot afford to overlook the volume.

Die Ornamente der Hakim- und Ashar-Moschee. Materialien zur Geschichte der Alteren Kunst des Islam, von S. Flury. Heidelberg. 1912. Carl Winters Universitätsbuchhandlung. pp. 52. Tafel xxxiv.

Islamsche Schriftbänder Amida Diarbekr. XI. Jahrhundert. Anhang Kairuan, Mayyafariqin, Tirmidh. Von S. Flury. 1920. Basel: Frobenius A. G. Paris: Paul Geuthner. pp. 52. Tafel xx. Price, frs 20.

The writer of these two volumes on Mohammedan architecture and art, especially from the standpoint of palæography, is a Swiss, whose mother tongue is German. The first volume appeared before the war; the second has just come from the press. Naturally such studies are primarily valuable to art students rather than to Oriental scholars. Prof. Arnold, however, pointed out how useful the tables and illustrations of these volumes are to students of Arabic epigraphy. Mohammedan inscriptions are a unique phenomena not only in the history of art, but in the history of calligraphy. The photographic plates in both volumes number over two score and enable the student to read the various forms of *Cufic* quite easily. The first volume deals specially with the inscriptions and ornaments of the Azhar Mosque—(curiously spelt A-s-h-a-r). This dates from 359 A. H. The author states that "although it is forbidden to take photographs in the Mosque, he was able with a small pocket camera, a tarbush and vulgar Arabic to outwit the group of students and obtain details even from inaccessible corners in the minarets. He says in a letter to the editor, "People have no idea what treasures of art are still to be found in the Mosques of El-Azhar and El-Hakim. I am sure that many Americans who have been to Cairo do not know the wonderful ornaments that are to be seen in the minarets of the latter Mosque. At any rate, before my time nobody ever went there."

Apart from the extreme value of these studies to the student of Moslem art we commend them to our readers also because of the number of inscriptions in *Cufic*, with the full Arabic text, at an astonishingly low price. S. M. Z.

La Mort de Notre Chère France en Orient. By Pierre Loti. Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1920. pp. 291. 6 fr. 75 c.

This volume will interest those who desire a one-sided view of the Syrian question, in the fascinating style of Pierre Loti. He was always an admirer of the Turk, and therefore, naturally, no enthusiast for Great Britain and her policies. A reviewer in the *London Times* states that the enthusiasm of this volume for Turkey and her cause amounts to hysteria. "We can sympathize with him to a certain extent. We can sympathize even with what M. Hanotaux calls drily *la légende du bon Turc*. We can admit that some of the qualities of the Armenians are unattractive in Western eyes, and can understand his impatience with a recent sensational film employed as propaganda in their behalf. But, when all is said and done, he cannot persuade us that it was the rabbit who began it by attacking the stoat, any more than he can persuade us that British officers in the East are engaged in a vast and complicated intrigue against French power and prestige."

The Bagging of Baghdad. By Ernest Betts. London: John Lane. pp. 238. 7/6d.

This book contains the experiences of a soldier in Mesopotamia who depicts the life of a man in the ranks face to face with the new conditions of the Orient. From Basra—"the city of disappointment"—we follow him in his jolly narrative to the taking of Baghdad. There is a good sketch map of the operations at the relief of Kut.

Allenby's Final Triumph. By W. T. Messey. London: Constable & Co. pp. 346. 21/-

This is the third book by the author on the war in Egypt and Palestine, and is a sequel to his previous volume, "How Jerusalem Was Won." He knows how to make military history interesting, and tells the story of the great triumph lucidly, and with a vivid pen. General Allenby had to contend with enormous difficulties. The last six weeks of the campaign were in a sense the most strenuous. The maps and illustrations are excellent. Strange to say there is no reference in the volume to Islam as a political force either during or after the campaign, which only shows that the final triumph was not final.

War Against Tropical Disease. By Andrew Balfour, C.B., C.M.G. London: Bailliere, Tindall & Cox. 1920. pp. 219. 12/6d.

The seven papers comprised in this book are seven sermons on the Gospel of Hygiene, which every missionary should mark, learn and digest. We wish that it were possible for Mission Boards to send a copy to every mission station in the Near East. The several chapters deal with: Tropical Sanitation, Tropical Problems, Inoculation against Typhoid and Cholera, the Medical Entomology of Salonica, Sanitary and Insanitary Makeshifts, the Problem of Hygiene in Egypt, the Palm from a Sanitary Standpoint.

This clearly cannot deal with any of these matters in detail, but we would call special attention to the chapters on Egypt as the "hub of the empire of sanitation and imperial medicine." This book calls the Nile Valley "an international filter," because of the pilgrim traffic by land and sea. It describes the mediæval unsanitary conditions of Egypt that obtain today, the principal infective diseases, and perhaps a solution of the problem. The volume is beautifully illustrated, but has no index.

Arabia and Mesopotamia. Handbooks prepared under the direction of the Historical Section of the Foreign Office, Nos. 61 and 63. London: H.M. Stationery Office, 1920.

These two handbooks in the series already noticed by our reviewer cover the same ground and give a condensed and accurate account of the geography, political history, social and economic conditions in Mesopotamia and Arabia. The bibliography is not as full and accurate as the text. The needs and the religious condition of Mesopotamia and Arabia are treated in two brief paragraphs, but we fail to find an adequate account of recent movements in Islam, such as that of the *Ikhwan* in Arabia. It is in this sense that these handbooks are disappointing. As a compilation of facts they are admirable, but there is no outlook into the future or anxiety as to the real factors that determine the problem of mandates and the progress of civilization. Z.

A Prisoner in Turkey. By John Still. 7/6 net. pp. 250. Illustrated. John Lane Company, London, New York.

Probably no book in recent times reveals so unequivocally the cruel nature of the Turk as this unvarnished record of a British prisoner, an Oxford student, who was captured by the Turks at Gallipoli and for more than three years was a prisoner in their hands. He was taken with other prisoners from Gallipoli to Constantinople, then to Angora, after that to Afion-Kara-Hissar, and finally to Smyrna. British statistics show that about seventy-five per cent of all British prisoners who fell into the hands of the Turks died, only twenty-five per cent, many of them physical wrecks, surviving. One can well believe this to be true after

reading the detailed statement depicting from day to day the life of the prisoner and the way in which prisoners were harassed and persecuted, often merely to satisfy the whim of the Turkish officer in charge.

As an illustration of their treatment we will quote the statement of Mr. Still reporting their capture. He says:

"Of those taken with me, one was not molested; one was fired at from five yards' distance, missed, and quietly captured; one was beaten and fired at. Thank God the man who fired at him hit the man who was beating him and broke his wrist. The fourth, my colonel, was bayoneted. I was permitted to tend the colonel. They even allowed me to carry him on my back, and on my back the colonel died. May he rest in peace."

"Once an officer took out his pistol to shoot us and was prevented by a priest with a turban on, who wrestled with him and took his pistol away. Several times we were apparently condemned to death."

It is interesting that as the narrative goes on no words of sweeping condemnation of this almost universal cruelty of the Turk escaped the pen of the author. He simply states the fact and leaves the reader to judge for himself. One marvels, however, as he pursues this story of thrilling human interest that anyone escaped alive.

Imprisonment ended in Smyrna, where the British prisoners were gathered upon the grounds of the American International College at the Paradise station, some three miles out of the city. Here under the direction of President Alexander MacLachlan and Dean Cass A. Reed, for nearly two months, the author and a large number of associates in captivity were cared for and nourished back to life, so that when they went aboard the British ship on the first of November, 1918, there were practically no sick among them, although a considerable number died on the college grounds because of their enfeebled condition. The author speaks in unstinted terms of their appreciation of the services of the officers of the college and the women who did so much for them during those two months. In speaking of their introduction to the college grounds, he says:

"The whole great building was at our disposal: dormitories for the men, small rooms for the officers, a school conduit to wash in, shower baths, electric light, a fine library, and perfect cleanliness. It was the cleanliness of the building and the kindness of their hearts that appealed to us. I confess without any shame that it almost broke me down. And there were children to play with—bright, merry little American and English children. As our men came in, some on crutches, some limping, all of them thin and weary, I saw one of those kind hosts of ours pick up a crippled Indian sepoy on his back and carry him up the stairs. They nursed our sick, they mended and washed our clothes, they cooked dainty little dishes for the convalescents, and they gave us all heart once more. We were unclean and uncivilized, queerer perhaps than we knew, and they brought back to us the knowledge that the world as a whole is good."

Thus we have the contrast between the natural Turk with his instinctive heart of cruelty and the American Christian institution through which runs the spirit and the life of Jesus Christ.

J. L. B.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

BY MISS HOLLIS W. HERING, NEW YORK

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I. GENERAL.

FROM BAGHDAD TO THE CASPIAN IN 1918. Major-General L. C. Dunsterville. (*The Geographical Journal*, London. March, 1921. pp. 153-164.)

An account of one of the most venturesome expeditions of the war, in which a handful of British men on a secret mission kept the oil of Baku from the Turks for six weeks, and prevented the Turks and Germans from joining hands with the thousands of Austrian and German prisoners in Central Asia.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

THE CALIPHATE CONTROVERSY IN RELATION TO NATIONALISM. J. L. Macintyre. (*The Church Missionary Review*, London. March, 1921. pp. 52-60.)

An inquiry into the correct historical and actual interpretation of the Caliphate. In view of the fact that many Westerners are inclined to consider the Caliph as a Moslem pope, it is well to recognize that neither the history nor the theology of Islam justifies any interpretation of the position other than the headship of the most powerful political Mohammedan nation.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

APOSTASY FROM ISLAM. S. M. Zwemer. (*The East and the West*, London. April, 1921. pp. 123-133.)

Discusses the Moslem law regarding apostates as one of the many reasons for the small number of converts in Moslem lands to Christianity. The law as interpreted in the different schools is given, with some history of its application, and a notice of how this latter has been affected by international pressure.

LA CODIFICATION DU DROIT MUSULMAN EN ALGÉRIE. (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. Sept.-Dec., 1920. pp. 111-118.)

In 1905, the Governor-General of Algeria appointed a Commission to codify the Mussulman law applicable to the native Mohammedans of Algeria. The work of the Commission, which is here discussed, was finished in 1918, and heartily approved by the native Algerian magistracy. Its promulgation, however, has raised a number of decidedly delicate questions.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

LES JEUNES-TURCS ET LE TRÉSOR DU TOMBEAU DE MAHOMET. H. Lammens. (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. Sept.-Dec., 1920. pp. 136-152.)

It was forbidden by Mohammed to pay any special reverence to

his tomb; yet in the course of time this became loaded down with the gifts of the Faithful. M. Lammens describes some of these treasures, and gives a résumé of the various pillages suffered by the tomb, culminating in that perpetrated by the Young Turk masters of Medina in 1917.

MEDICAL ACTIVITIES UNDER MOSLEM RULERS. Y. D. Khan.

(*The Indian Review*, Madras. February, 1921. pp. 103-103.)

In these days of belief in the superiority of Western medical science it is well to be reminded occasionally of what the Eastern peoples have accomplished. There is given here a very brief survey of the system of public hospitals and dispensaries under the Omniade Caliphs, some of the rules and regulations of which have a very modern sound.

NOTES SUR LA SECTE DES AHLE-HAQQ. Vladimir Minorsky.

(*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. Sept.-Dec., 1920. pp. 19-97.)

A thorough-going monograph discussing a little-known sect of Persia: its name, what is known of it in Europe, its religious history, its sacred places, and the geographical distribution of its adherents. Illustrated, with a map, and followed by a valuable annotated bibliography.

A VISIT TO BOKHARA IN 1919. Major F. M. Bailey. (*The Geographical Journal*, London. February, 1921. pp. 75-87.)

An interesting description of this Moslem center as seen by one disguised as a Bolshevik Secret Service agent. The custom of the country and the temper of the people are well given, while the remarks in the discussion following are well worth reading.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

CONSTANTINOPLE AFTER THE WAR. H. Charles Woods. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. March, 1921. pp. 457-466.)

A recent visit to Constantinople has shown profound changes there. On the side for the worse, these are marked by the severe economic difficulties; on that for the better, the most obvious is the new position of freedom of the Moslem woman. The really serious, if not desperate, condition of the country is discussed in the light of the present impasse, created by the existence of a treaty which cannot be enforced and which it is difficult to destroy.

THE EMPIRE AND MESOPOTAMIA. Ikbāl Ali Shah. (*The Contemporary Review*, London. February, 1921. pp. 200-206.)

The English occupation of Mesopotamia has given rise to a great deal of questioning and comment; it was inevitable in the first place, but what about its continuance? Taking the stand that continued intervention there is also inevitable, the attempt is made here to estimate the ultimate worth of the intervention, and the best means of cooperating with the native tribes.

ENGLAND AND THE EGYPTIAN PROBLEM. Harry J. Carman.

(*The Political Science Quarterly*, New York. March, 1921. pp. 51-78.)

A clear and exceedingly able summary of the struggle in Egypt to rid the Lower Nile Valley of that British overlordship which ig-

nored the nationalistic aspirations of the Egyptian people, covering the period from 1879 to the present. It is an impartial statement of facts, and there are copious footnotes and references to Parliamentary papers and official documents. The Organic Law of 1882, the constitutional reforms of 1913, and the Milner proposals are especially well outlined.

KUTCHUK KHAN. Martchenko. (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. Sept.-Dec., 1920. pp. 98-116.)

A brief study of the life and influence of Mirza Kutchuk, commonly called Kutchuk Khan. This nationalist dreamer and poet of liberty of Northern Persia has proved himself an element to be reckoned with in the Mohammedan crusade against encroaching Christianity. There is a sketch of his life before the World War, and then of his career as head of a popular agricultural revolt. One of his sources of power has been his devotion in Persia to the Pan-Islamic program. Backed at first by the Bolsheviks, he has since been repudiated by them on account of his political moderation.

MESOPOTAMIA. Traveller. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. March, 1921. pp. 443-456.)

A bird's-eye view of the Mesopotamian problem. The article is clearly divided, sections being devoted to the physical features and population, resources and trade, revenue, the Kurdish question, and the nationalist movement. There is a frank recognition of the difficulties of the British position, but a plea for patience, for a chance to see how the new policy will work, is made to those who would solve these difficulties by clearing out of the country "bag and baggage."

MESOPOTAMIA EXPLAINED. I. Captain H. Birch Reynardson. (*The Asiatic Review*, London. April, 1921. pp. 226-233.)

This article summarizes the contents of the White Paper entitled a "Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia" (written by Miss Gertrude Bell). It aims to answer, to the satisfaction of the average man, the questions: In what state was Mesopotamia when the British arrived there in 1914? What have they been doing there since (other than defeating the Turks)? What is the present state of the country after five years of their occupation? The article is to be continued.

PALESTINE AND THE MANDATE. The Right Hon. Lord Sydenham of Combe. (*The Nineteenth Century and After*, London. April, 1921. pp. 617-629.)

An attempt to rouse the public to the real significance of Zionist activity in Palestine. The history of the last year in Palestine is one of growing sinister power of Zionists and Russian, Polish, and Roumanian immigrants (many of them thoroughly Bolshevik in attitude), manifesting itself in forced dismissal of impartial British administrators, flagrant favoritism shown officially to Zionists, and forced emigration of Palestinians from their homes. The British accepted the mandate in apparent defiance of Art. 22 of the Covenant of the League of Nations. What are they doing to control these people who have fastened themselves upon Palestine "in the hope first of dominating and eventually of submerging the Islamic-Christian population which has inherited it for centuries"?

THE SYRIAN QUESTION. Stephen P. Duggan. (*Journal of International Relations*, Worcester, Mass. April, 1921. pp. 571-588.)

A succinct statement of facts showing the play of international politics on Syria, from the reign of Abdul Hamid. The value of the country to Turkey, France, and England is shown against a background of Arab nationalism and native opposition to and fear of Zionist aggression.

TEXTE DES CLAUSES POLITIQUES GÉNÉRALES DU TRAITÉ DU 10 AOÛT 1920 AVEC LA TURQUIE. (*Revue du Monde Musulman*, Paris. Sept.-Dec., 1920. pp. 216-290.)

The political terms are printed in their entirety. The rest of the treaty is summarized.

VII. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

THE CHRISTIAN APPROACH IN THE NEAR EAST. Sherwood Eddy. (*The International Review of Missions*, London. April, 1921. pp. 260-265.)

Conclusions reached after an evangelistic tour of five weeks in Egypt and a month in Turkey. Finding the Mohammedan world responsive as never before, the plea is earnestly made to lay aside the polemic method (in its nature arousing stubbornness and opposition), for the irenic, appealing to the heart and conscience.

TWO MISSIONARIES AND EDUCATORS IN SYRIA. By One Who Knew Them. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. March, 1921. pp. 193-198.)

A beautiful appreciation of the work of Daniel Bliss ("the Builder") and his son Howard Bliss ("the Expansionist"), in the Syrian Protestant College, now the American University of Beirut.

THE NEW NEAR EAST. Sherwood Eddy, LL.D. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. February, 1921. pp. 101-105.)

Over a hundred years of faithful effort have seen little success in winning Moslems to an open profession of Christianity. In describing the evangelistic meetings recently held in the Near East, however, Dr. Eddy tells why, in view of the altering political conditions in Turkey and Egypt, and throughout the Mohammedan world, he believes the time ripe for a direct, friendly approach on new lines to Moslems.

THE TURKISH TREATY AND MISSIONS. S. W. Boggs, F.R.G.S. (*The Missionary Review of the World*, New York. February, 1921. pp. 107-115.)

An important article, showing the changes in the Near East which have resulted from the war, and their influence upon Christian missions. Important sections of the treaty are quoted, as well as cables illustrating some of the evils of secret diplomacy; new territorial divisions are noted; and there is a final section on the adjustments which Christian missions must make in the light of these new conditions.

THE MOSLEM WORLD

A quarterly review of current events, literature, and
thought among Mohammedans and the progress
of Christian Missions in Moslem lands

Editor: SAMUEL M. ZWEMER, D.D.

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NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

The leading article in this number is by *Prof. D. S. Margoliouth*, of Oxford University. He is too well known as an Arabist and Oriental scholar to need an introduction to our readers.

The *Rev. E. E. Calverley*, of the Reformed Church Mission in Arabia, has had an unique opportunity to study Islam and especially the *Ikhwan* movement. His translation of this original document that has stirred all Central Arabia is deeply interesting.

The characteristic and in many respects the revolting marriage customs of the Nubians were observed by *Dr. W. G. Frölich*, of the German Sudan Pioneer Mission, before the war. He has favored us with his notes on the subject. Himself a Swiss, he at present is in charge of a Sanatorium in Switzerland.

Mr. Geo. W. Swan is secretary of the Egypt General Mission on the field. A number of articles from his pen have appeared in our quarterly.

The *Rev. Dwight M. Donaldson* belongs to the Presbyterian Mission in North Persia. He has contributed other articles to our Quarterly, and was the first to rediscover the Tomb of Al-Ghazali some years ago at Tus.

The *Rev. W. McE. Miller*, of the same Mission, contributes some interesting observations made during his long journey from Meshed to Sistan.

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THE NEW MOSQUE AT HIGHLAND PARK (DETROIT), MICHIGAN

This has recently been established in a suburb of Detroit by Syrian and Indian Moslems of the Ahmadia sect, whose American representative is Dr. Mufti Mohammed Sadiq. The Mosque was built by a prosperous real estate agent at a cost of \$50,000. It has a small auditorium and the usual prayer niche, or *kibla*, toward Mecca. The minarets are solid and cannot be used for the "Call to prayer." A quarterly paper is published entitled *"The Moslem Sunrise."*

THE MOSLEM WORLD

VOL. XI

OCTOBER, 1921

No. 4

EDITORIAL

THE SWORD OR THE CROSS

"The cross cannot be defeated," said Louis Massignon when he spoke at Paris as to present conditions in the Near East: of hope deferred, and plans thwarted, of the famine-stricken exiled, martyred Christians; of political intrigues due to selfish ambition and un-Christian policies on the part of nations called Christian. "The cross cannot be defeated, because it itself was defeat." Long have I pondered on this mystical utterance, which sums up the history of missions in a sentence and sets forth the deepest distinction between Islam and Christianity historically considered. The Cross was apparently vanquished by the sword of Islam in its wide and rapid spread throughout the Near East. Churches became mosques, Christians apostates to Islam, literature and architecture bowed to the genius of Mohammed and his successors, the Crescent displaced the Cross. But was it defeated, or does faith triumph over hope deferred? Christ is a conqueror whose victories have always been won through loss and humiliation and suffering. He invites His followers to take up their cross as He took up His, and follow Him first to their Calvary, and then to their crown. The way of the Cross is the path of wisdom and of life. There can

be no victory without it. Christ's battle flag, like that of Sigurd the Norseman, while it insures victory to those who follow it, often brings death to those who carry it. The Cross of Christ is the primal, the supreme, the central, the universal, the eternal symbol of Christianity. Christ's messengers are messengers of the Cross and all it signifies, or they are not His messengers at all. "We preach Christ Crucified." That is the good news which Paul says he delivered "first of all." It was his message and it was his passion—"I am crucified with Christ," "I die daily." One of the martyr missionaries of Fukien, R. W. Stewart, said, "The measure of your *agonia* will be the measure of your success." Xavier before setting forth on his great mission caught a vision of all the suffering, ignominy and persecution before him, but exclaimed, "Yet more, O Lord, yet more."

In the impending, inevitable spiritual conflict with Islam, we may perhaps expect less outward persecution of the convert to Christianity, but there will always be insidious opposition and sore secret trial for those who desert the camp of so subtle a foe. Western politics and statesmanship have never shown such timidity, such super-dread of offending any religion as in the case of Islam. This too is an ominous sign on the future horizon. Therefore we do not put our trust in politics. They are uncertain at best, and whatever may prove the final adjustment of the present "Muddle—East," neither our hopes nor our dread lie in that direction. Our hope is in the Cross. Our dread is that we should seek to escape it. The Crusaders denied the Cross by taking up the sword. "It is at this point," says Kirby Page, "that the sword and the Cross differ. The sword, even used defensively, means the attempt to kill the guilty for the sake of the innocent. The Cross symbolizes the willingness of the innocent to die for the guilty."¹ The sword can only produce brutality, the Cross tenderness; the sword destroys human life, the Cross gives it priceless value; the sword deadens con-

¹*The Sword or the Cross*, Christian Century Press.

science, the Cross awakens it; the sword ends in hatred, the Cross in love; he that takes up the sword perishes by it, he that takes up the Cross inherits eternal life. In winning Moslem lands for Christ, the call is for men and women who will today follow the way of the Cross with the same courage and abandon with which the soldier yesterday served his country. At the Smyrna Student Conference this year we heard Turks, Armenians, Bulgarians and Greeks sing in Christian unison, "The Son of God goes forth to war" It was the harbinger of a new day—that day when the Cross shall be lifted up in every pulpit where now the wooden sword in the hands of the Imam is the ever recurring Friday symbol of conquest.

The sword or the Cross; self-assertion or self-denial; might or meekness; carnal weapons and methods or crucifixion. The friends of God, the real friends of humanity, do not hesitate in their choice. Out of weakness they are made strong, baffled they still prevail. Because they share the humiliation of the Cross they too cannot be defeated. They too, as John Cordelier puts it, "are for Christ's sake wounded in the hands that work for Him, in the feet that journey to Him, in the heart that asks only strength to love Him; as He too is wounded in His ceaseless working for us, His tireless coming to us, His ineffable desire towards us. We share the marks of His passion and He ours."

The print of the nails and the mark of the spear are still the supreme evidence of Christ's resurrection power and deity and the test of our discipleship. The call is for men and women who will *now* offer for this sacrificial service. The old coat-of-arms of Tiflis, the great Moslem center in the Caucasus, is a staff of wood held by two hands. The Cross is on the upper end, while below is the half-moon. One hand holds the Cross upright and the other is endeavoring to uplift the half-moon. Is this not typical of the present situation?

S. M. ZWEMER.

THE CALIPHATE HISTORICALLY CONSIDERED

The word *Caliph*, Khalifah, "succession" or "substitution," personified as "successor" or "substitute," is from its nature relative, requiring the mention of the person who is succeeded or replaced. Very often such a person is mentioned; the Caliph himself might have a Caliph or deputy, as when the former lived in Samarra, and had a representative in Baghdad;¹ and the historians frequently name Caliphs of governors, viziers and heads of bureaux. When the title is given to the head of the Moslem community, it is implied that there is some one whose substitute or successor he is. But those who use it as the equivalent of sovereign prince ordinarily neglect this difficulty.

There are indeed those who think it should be rendered not as successor, but as "to be succeeded";² as applied to Adam in the Koran it might mean "founder of the human family." This theory is not easy to accommodate to the facts, and the most familiar interpretation of Caliph is Caliph of God. Against this piety protests, because succession and substitution imply death or absence. Yet the theory that it means successor of or substitute for the Prophet is not much easier. For the Koran asserts that Mohammed is "the seal of the Prophets," and is not "the father of any of your men."³ Clearly there can be no inheritance of the prophetic office,⁴ nor indeed any other form of inheritance from the Prophet. Those who consider the Caliph the Prophet's substitute confine his activity to the maintenance of Islam and the protection of the community.

A question which arises is whether a Caliphate in the sense of a successorship to the Prophet can still exist.

¹Tabari iii. 1410.

²Qalqashandi, *Subh al-A'sha*, v. 444.

³xxxiii. 40.

⁴Jahiz, *Bayan* ed. 2, i. 202.

There is a tradition that the Prophet said: *The Caliphate after me in my nation is thirty years; then a kingdom after that.*⁵ This doubtless means that the Caliphate terminated with Ali;^{5a} and this transition from Caliphate to monarchy is sometimes assumed by historians to have been a fact.⁶ It has this evident nucleus of truth, that with the transference of the center of Islam from Medinah, its first capital, to other countries, the continuity of the government founded by the Prophet was severed.

A view which is more widely accepted is that the Caliphate terminated when Baghdad was sacked by the Mongols in 656 A. H., and the connection of the institution with that city came to an end. Thus in the *Tabaqāti Akbarī*, in the proceedings connected with Akbar's attempt at preaching in the Mosque, those who followed the 'Abbasid Caliphs are called "Sultans seated on the throne." The historian of the fall of Baghdad, Wassāf, speaks of the Caliphate terminating with the execution of the last 'Abbasid.⁷

A question which is intimately connected with this last is whether there can or cannot be more than one Caliph at the same time. Theoretically there can only be one; for the Caliph is the person whom God has charged with the interests of His servants in East and West, on sea and land, country and town, plain and mountain.⁸ There is a Tradition according to which if two Caliphs are proclaimed, one of them is to be slain. Theory, however, in these matters does not always accord with practice. The Emperor Frederick I at different times maintained that just as there was only one God, so there could only be one Emperor; and that the Byzantine potentate might call himself Emperor of the Romanians, whilst he (Frederick) was sole Emperor of the Romans.⁹ It might be difficult to find in the whole history of Islam after the Prophet's decease any period at which there

⁵Recorded by Ahmad, Abū Dāwūd, Tirmidhī and others. See the *Manar*,/xxiii, 165.

^{5a}Or his son Hasan. Qalqashandī, i. e.

⁶Ibn Khaldun, *Histoire des Berbères*, i. 1.

⁷P. 76 ed. Hammer.

⁸Tabari iii. 1675.

⁹Von Raumer, *Geschichte der Hohenstaufen*, 1857, ii. 88 and 288.

were not rival Caliphs; one Qatārī, who died in the year 76, had held the title of Caliph for thirteen years.¹⁰ When the Umayyads, driven from the East, renewed their dynasty in Spain, they at first called themselves *Sons of the Caliphs*, holding that the title Caliph belonged of right to the sovereign who was in possession of the Sanctuaries;¹¹ but in 929 (A. H. 316) the Umayyad 'Abd al-Rahmān III assumed the title officially—not, as Dozy with an anachronism suggests,¹² because the Caliph of Baghdad was now a puppet, for eight years had to elapse before he became one, but because his 'Ubaidid neighbour in Africa had assumed the title, and it would have been impolitic to be satisfied with anything less. About 150 years later the Al-Moravid Yusuf Ibn Tashfin, having become master of a mighty empire, was told by the sheikhs of his tribe that the title *Emir* was no longer adequate, since he was the Caliph of God on His earth, and should call himself *Emir al-Mu'minin* or Caliph. He at first resisted, on the ground that this title belonged to the 'Abbasids in virtue of their descent and their possession of the Sanctuaries; ultimately, however, he had to yield and took this title,¹³ which was also taken by sovereigns of the succeeding, Al-Mohade, dynasty.¹⁴

It would be of little interest to enumerate the Spanish and African dynasties by which the Caliphate was claimed simultaneously with the Caliphates of Egypt and Baghdad. Whereas, as we have seen, many supposed that the possession of the Sanctuaries furnished a title to the office, on one occasion we find the doctrine reversed. When the Caliphate of Baghdad came to an end, the Sherif of Mecca sent formal recognition to the Hafsid Caliph then reigning in Tunis, on the ground that he was the only Caliph who at the time possessed any real power;¹⁵ according to this the Sanctuaries belonged to the most powerful Islamic sovereign; it was not the possession of them

¹⁰Tabrizi, Comm. on Hamāsah, p. 44.

¹¹Bibl. Geogr. Arab. vi. 65.

¹²Spanish Islam, p. 423.

¹³Al-Hulal al-Mūshīyyah, Tunis, 1329, p. 16.

¹⁴Mercier, Histoire de l'Afrique Septentrionale, ii, 104, A. D. 1162.

¹⁵Mercier, l. c. ii. 176, after Ibn Khaldun.

which formed the ground of his sovereignty. One might have expected more of the Sherifs of Mecca to claim the Caliphate than appear actually to have done so. In fact, an abortive attempt of the kind was made by one Abu 'l-Futūh in A. H. 381, and Quatādah, founder of the existing line of Sherifs, considered that he had the best right to the office.

The North African Caliphate has its representative to this day in the Sultan of Morocco; the Caliphate of Baghdad was nominally replaced after three years by the 'Abbasids, who maintained a shadow of the office in Egypt under the Mamluks. Ordinarily these Caliphs kept in the background; when they tried to assert themselves they had reason to regret the attempt. In 902 A. H. the Caliph of the times ventured to appoint the well known polygraph Jalāl ad-dīn Suyūti supreme Qādī with the right to appoint and dismiss qādīs throughout the Islamic world! The qādīs of Cairo met and declared that when there was a Sultan, the Caliph had no right of binding or loosing, of appointment or dismissal of any sort. This made the Caliph climb down, and throw the blame on Suyūti. "Who," he said, "am I?"¹⁶ The question was a reasonable one; for he was a nonentity. If Suyūti is to be believed, the names of these Caliphs were not mentioned in the *Khutbah* after 740 A. H.¹⁷

These shadowy Caliphs might have remained in obscurity, but for an accident. The fall of dynasties claiming the Caliphate was so familiar an occurrence that methods for dealing with such a situation had arisen. One was to continue to recognize the last Caliph of the line, notwithstanding that he was in his grave; thus Musta'sim the last of the 'Abbasids of Baghdad, though he had been murdered in A. H. 656, was mentioned in prayer as late as the year 798 A. H., "from every pulpit," if Khazraji is to be believed.¹⁸ A second plan was, as has been seen, that adopted by the Sherif of Mecca, to look out for

¹⁶Ibn Iyas, ii, 307.

¹⁷Ta'riḥ al-Khulafa.

¹⁸Translated by Redhouse, i. 110.

some other Caliph. Yet a third plan was to claim the Caliphate; for indeed this matter is mainly or entirely the concern of princes, who are supposed to derive their power from the Caliph; to other Moslems it is of little importance. In India after the fall of the 'Abbasids of Baghdad all three methods found adherents.

In Bengal the name of Musta'sim appears on coins as late as the year 722 A. H.; in Delhi as late as 695;¹⁹ this was the first of the three expedients enumerated. Doubtless the news of the death of the Caliph would not at once reach these remote regions; but even this distance would be covered in less than forty years. The third method was that adopted by the Sultan Qutb al-dīn Mubārakshah (716-720 A.H.; 1316-1320 A.D.) This monarch calls himself on his coin *Supreme Imam, Caliph of the Lord of the Worlds*, and took a title in the style of the Caliphs, *Al-Wathiq billah*, "The reliant on God."

The remaining expedient, looking out for a Caliph, was tried by the Sultan Mohammed Ibn Tughlaq, who reigned from 725-752 A.H., 1324-1351 A.D. This devout man, having come to the conclusion that no Sultan was authorized without investiture by an 'Abbasid Caliph, made numerous inquiries as to the existence of persons of that line; and finally heard from numerous travellers that there was an 'Abbasid Caliph in Egypt. He accordingly sent an embassy to this personage, requesting investiture, which the Egyptian Caliph was delighted to bestow; and from this time the name of the Egyptian Caliph figures on Indian coins. One specimen of a diploma conferring sovereignty on an Indian prince is preserved in the recently published diplomatic encyclopaedia of Qalqashandi, who asserts that it is the only diploma known to him that had been made out for any but an Egyptian Sultan in the name of one of the Caliphs.²⁰ It is clear, however, that this was not the only document of the kind sent to India, since we have records of others both earlier and

¹⁹See E. Thomas, *Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi*, 1871.

²⁰*Subh al-A'sha* x. 129.

later. This particular document was composed by a well-known belle-lettrist, Ibn Hijjah, in Damascus, 813 A.H., 1411 A.D. The person on whom it confers the realm of India with capital Delhi is Muzaffar-Shah, who, as it records, destroyed Somnath a second time in 1395, and took the fort of Diu.²¹ He appears to have been the most powerful Moslem sovereign in India at the time, and to have settled who should reign in Delhi; but does not appear to have reigned there himself. The latest notice of an Egyptian investiture is in the history of Ibn Iyās, who witnessed the Ottoman conquest of his country. In the year 876-1471 there arrived, he says, an envoy from the King Ghiyāth ad-dīn, soliciting investiture with the sovereignty of India in place of his predecessor, and bringing gifts for the Egyptian Sultan as well as for the Caliph.²² This Ghiyāth ad-dīn must be the Sultan Malwa, who according to the Chronicle, translated by Bayley, ascended the throne in 873-1469,²³ and in a coin reproduced by Thomas calls himself the person on whom authority has been conferred by the Caliph of the time in the worlds.²⁴

In 922-1517 the final disaster occurred to the relics of the 'Abbasid Caliphate. Egypt was conquered by the Ottoman Sultan Selim I; the Caliph was carried off to Constantinople, whence he was presently sent back to Egypt to die there in obscurity. Some date the assumption of the Caliphate by the Ottoman Sultans from this event; yet it is noticeable that the Ottoman historian Sa'd al-dīn calls Constantinople *Dār al-Khilāfah*, seat of the Caliphate" *before* the conquest of Egypt;²⁵ and the conqueror Selim in his dispatch to his son, while enumerating the various glories of his exploit, says nothing about his seizure of the Caliph.²⁶ To the Indian potentates who had recognized the Egyptian Caliphs the three courses which have been mentioned were again open. That of neglecting the destruction of the Caliphate was practised

²¹Bayley, *History of Gujerat*, pp. 76 and 80.

²²*Chronicle*, ii. 131.

²³P. 186.

²⁴P. 349.

²⁵Constantinople 1279, ii. 328.

²⁶Edited and translated by Wickerhauser, *Chrestomathie*, Vienna, 1853.

in India for a certain number of years; the phrase, *In the time of the Caliph*, was retained on Indian coins some time after the Caliphate had ceased to exist. Not, however, very long; the plan of assuming the Caliphate was that which found favor. In an anonymous coin of the year 937-1530, fifteen years after the termination of the Egyptian Caliphate, Agra is called *Seat of the Caliphate*,²⁷ and in others of the following three years the same title is given to Lahore. Cities of India claimed that title from 1530 to at least 1842, the date of the latest silver Moghul coin mentioned in Lane Poole's Catalogue.

From the former date, then, India has a seat of the Caliphate, and the title Caliph was actually taken by Sher-Shah (1540-1545), and his successor Islam-Shah (1545-1552), who calls himself on a coin *Caliph of the Time*,²⁸ and assumes an imperial title *al-'Adil* "the Just." With Akbar, however, (1556-1605) the Indian Caliphate may be said to be definitely established. This potentate was very much in earnest in his assumption of the title Caliph, as appears from his pronouncing the *khutbah* in the style of the Pious Caliphs and their successors, the 'Abbasids; and in the *fatwā* which he obtained from the Indian jurists he is styled *Emir al-Mu'minin*.²⁹

It is likely that Akbar's assumption of the title was in part dictated by conscious rivalry to the Ottoman Caliph, and of this we have a hint in a story told by Badaoni.³⁰ When Akbar wished to substitute for the second sentence of the Moslem creed the formula *Akbar is the Caliph of God*, he was asked what the provincial rulers, such as the Padishah of Rum (Ottoman Sultan) would think of it; and he charged some one who objected with being a secret agent of that potentate, with whom he hoped to curry favour by such conduct, and to whom he was told to go. Indeed one may well wonder that the world was large enough for two such sovereigns as Sulaiman the Magnifi-

²⁷Thomas, p. 385 foll.

²⁸Thomas, p. 413.

²⁹See Vincent Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 179.

³⁰ii. 273 (Persian text.)

cent and Akbar. The possession of the Sanctuaries would seem to be sufficient occasion for a quarrel; and indeed Sher-Shah (1540-1545) entrusted an intending pilgrim with a message to the Ottoman Sultan, wherein he requested that one of the two Sanctuaries might be assigned to him (the Indian Caliph);³¹ a message which is unlikely to have been delivered. Nevertheless the Indian Caliphate was not unknown in Mecca. In a letter to the *Ashrāf* (nobles) of this place Akbar's secretary, Abu 'l-Fadl, calls Agra "the seat of the sublime Caliphate."³² Similarly in another to the Uzbek Sultan he speaks of a prince destroying himself when after capture he was being brought to the threshold of the Caliphate (i.e. Akbar's capital.)³³ In another, soliciting the visit of a man of letters from Shiraz, he speaks of the fortieth year of Akbar's Caliphate.³⁴

Akbar and his secretary had virtually abandoned Islam; but this was not the case with Akbar's successors, and they figure as Caliphs in history and diplomacy as well as in numismatics. In the Memoirs of Akbar's successor, Jahangir, a letter is produced wherein the Persian Shah 'Abbās uses the word Caliphate for the empire of India; *The world-conquering standard of the Caliphate* in the person of Jahangir is said to have *cast the shade of equity over the inhabitants of the world*. In the letter sent by the next Moghul Emperor, Shah Jahan, to the Shah 'Abbās II in 1646, *the house which adorns the Caliphate* (i.e. the Indian dynasty) is contrasted with the Persian Sultanate.³⁵ The princes of this Emperor's family are regularly called *the Eldest Jewel in the casket of the Caliphate, the Cypress of the River of the Caliphate*, and the like. In 1709, when the Emperor Shah 'Alam I. had ordered the name of the Fourth Caliph in public prayer to be followed by the title *Wasiyy* (trustee or legatee) which belongs to the Shi'ah doctrine, there were riots in

³¹Badaoni i. 370.

³²*Muntakhabāt*, Lucknow 1869, p. 46.

³³*Muntakhabāt with Urdu translation*, p. 27.

³⁴*Ibid.*, p. 122.

³⁵Translation of Rogers and Beveridge, p. 195.

³⁶Badishah-nameh, ii. 496.

Akbarabad (Agra) and Shahjahanabad (Delhi), the Seats of the Caliphate of the Indian Emperors. Appellants who tried to obtain remission from this edict were told that they must read prayer *according to the command of the Caliph*,³⁷ i.e. Shah 'Alam.

The Ottoman Caliph then had an Indian Caliph reigning beside him in the East as well as an African Caliph reigning to the West of his dominions. The title was certainly claimed by the Ottoman ruler: Mustafâ II, who ascended the Ottoman throne in 1695, asserted in his proclamation that God had bestowed on this poor sinner the Caliphate of the world.³⁸ Likewise the Sa'dian Sherifs in N. Africa were styled Caliph and *Emir al-Mu'minin*,³⁹ and these titles were retained by their successors the Hasani Sherifs.⁴⁰ Recognition of the possibility of more than one Caliph reigning at one time was actually made by the Ottoman court in 1726, in the case of their realms being separated by such an interval as the Indian Ocean; whereby perhaps the Arabian Sea is meant, the intention being to avoid disputes with the Indian Caliphs.⁴¹ For indeed ordinarily these two Caliphates appear to have made up their minds to live and let live, whence references to India in Ottoman historians and to the Ottoman Empire in Indian historians are rare. In 1640 there is an exceptional case of something like diplomatic relations between the two empires. An agent who was sent by Shah Jahan to buy horses was brought to Mosul into the presence of the Ottoman Sultan Murad IV, who received his presents, and sent an envoy of his own, one Arslan Agha, to the Indian potentate, who decorated him, repeatedly bestowed rich presents on him and his staff, and after a year allowed him to return. The Indian historian who records this event calls the Ottoman Sultan, *Qaisar-i-Rum*, "Byzantine Emperor!"⁴² On the other hand, in the record of the

³⁷Khafî Khan, ii. 664.

³⁸Von Hammer vi. 600; original verified.

³⁹*Nushat al-Hadi* passim.

⁴⁰*Archives Marocaines* ix. 59.

⁴¹Von Hammer vii. 334.

⁴²Badishah-nameh ii. 188-218.

affair by the Ottoman historian Na'ima⁴³ the proud title of the Indian emperor "King of the World" does not appear.

The Moghul Caliphate was overthrown as other Caliphates had been overthrown. Shah 'Alam II, after having been kept in rigorous confinement by the Mahrattas, on their defeat by the English in 1803, applied to the British Government for protection, which was accorded, and from that time the titular kings of Delhi became pensioned subjects of the British.⁴⁴ Until 1835, however, the current coin of India continued to bear the Moghul superscription.⁴⁵ There were three courses open as before to those who had lost their Caliph. There is no evidence that the loss was felt at the time, nor was it till near the end of the century that any attempt was made to replace it.

The facts which have been collected will enable the reader to form a judgment on the question of the Caliphate. One matter which emerges is that the existence or non-existence of a Caliph makes little if any difference to the ordinary Moslem. The real function of a Caliph is to give authorization to a Sultan; and the Sultans who required this were ordinarily foreigners who ruled over Arabic-speaking peoples. Where there were native rulers, whether Arabs or non-Arabs, an apology of this sort was not required; and those rulers who esteemed it of value were anxious to have the Caliph from whom they ostensibly derived their authority in their power. Hence even the Sultan who introduced the name of the Egyptian 'Abbasid into the legends of Indian coins regretted that he had not reserved his allegiance for a Caliph whom he could himself control.⁴⁶ Any king might count as the Caliph (viceroy) of God;⁴⁷ no king could replace the Prophet.

It was left to some of the Sufis to work out a theory which should take account of this latter point. The real Caliph is one who takes his orders direct from God as the

⁴³ iii. 357.

⁴⁴ Kaye and Malletson, *Indian Mutiny*, 1889, v. 323.

⁴⁵ Ibid. ii. 7.

⁴⁶ Thomas, l. c. p. 257.

⁴⁷ Jahiz, *Livre de la Couronne*, p. 86.

Prophet did. There may be a multiplicity of ostensible Caliphs, but there can be only one real Caliph at a time, he being the *Qutb*, or Pole. Such a Caliph may or may not exercise his powers. Thus 'Abd al-Qadir Gilani exercised his, whereas Abu 'l-Su'ud Shalbi refrained from exercising his.⁴⁸ The former according to the more moderate of his adherents 150 years after his demise was the lord of mankind after God in his time only; according to the more enthusiastic he was that absolutely.⁴⁹ It is rather interesting that the Indian Caliph Shah 'Alam I. claimed descent from this personage, who is styled "the best of mankind."⁵⁰

Our result is a negative one, but that is because in this case law must be deduced from history; and from history we can infer that Moslem nations can exist without a Caliph, that numerous Caliphs can reign simultaneously, without conscious rivalry, and that a dead Caliph can discharge the duties of the office, whatever they may be; if we follow Ibn 'Arabi, we may add that a man may consciously discharge the duties of the office without the knowledge of his contemporaries; for history is silent about 'Abd al-Qadir Gilani's Caliphate. We may, if we like, take the view that no genuine Caliph ever reigned; for Abu Bakr (the first of the series) is said to have declined the title, and the same is narrated of his successor.

This view has the advantage that it renders the treatment by the Moslems of their Caliphs more excusable. It is well known that the second, the third and the fourth of the Pious Caliphs were slain by Moslem hands; many of those who afterwards bore the title were victims of violence; one at least took to begging for bread. Muqtadir, the last of the Baghdad Caliphs who ruled over an empire, was slain fighting against his Commander-in-chief, though he wore at the time the insignia which he was supposed to have inherited from the Prophet; insignia which were lost at the time, but were presently replaced. If

⁴⁸*Futūh Makkiyyah* ii. 407. *Fusūs al-Hikam*, § 16.

⁴⁹Ibn Taimiyyah, *Bughyat al-Murtad*, p. 124.

⁵⁰Khafī Khan, ii. 604.

such treatment by Believers of either the Successor of the Prophet or of God's representative is shocking in the extreme, it must be added that the conduct of these Caliphs was often little calculated to inspire reverence for their office.

With those in our time who hold that because an Islamic prince has the title Caliph, the Western powers should give him effective authority, it is not easy to sympathize, whether they be Moslems or non-Moslems. If Western civilization means anything, it means that no man may be subjected to disabilities because of the creed which he professes or adopts; Islam by its maxims subjects those who do not profess it to disabilities and those who abandon it to outlawry. How can any one who claims religious toleration demand that such a system should have a new lease of political power? Moreover Islam obtained its power of imposing religious disabilities by force only; for men do not willingly submit to them. That which was won by force can be lost by force. The height of absurdity seems to have been reached by that advocate of the Caliphate who asserted that unless the head of Islam be an independent potentate, the prayers of Moslems are not valid. If that be so, they must have been invalid during many centuries; for he who represents the 'Abbasid Caliphs as independent rulers under Buwaihid, Seljuq or Mamluk Sultans, wilfully perverts history; further he puts it in the power of the Unbeliever to render the Believers' prayers useless! If Islam be so contemptible a superstition as this argument involves, it seems to require missionaries rather than Caliphs.

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THE "ILLITERATE" PROPHET

COULD MOHAMMED READ AND WRITE?

Whether Mohammed could read or write has for centuries been a controverted question. Today most Moslems deny it; some, however, affirm it, but we are especially interested in the denial, because it is generally used to fortify their argument for the miraculous character of the Koran.

In investigating this question anew, we are not unmindful that our sources, viz., Mohammedan Traditions, are no longer considered as authoritative as they once were. As Hurgronje says, this illusion has been disturbed by Prince Caetani and Father Lammens. "According to them, even the data which had been pretty generally regarded as objective, rest chiefly upon tendentious fiction. The generations that worked at the biography of the Prophet were too far removed from his time to have true data or notions; and, moreover, it was not their aim to know the past as it was, but to construct a picture of it as it ought to have been, according to their opinion."

But while we may know less by the standards of trustworthy tradition, we know more of the conditions in Arabia and the life at Mecca, thanks to the investigations of Wellhausen, Wüstenfeld, Cheikho, Lammens, Huart and others.

I

The art of reading and writing was fairly common at Mecca at the time of Mohammed's birth. According to later Moslem tradition the science of writing was not known in Mecca until introduced by Harb, the father of Abu Sufian, the great opponent of Mohammed, about A.D. 560! But this is evidently an error, for close intercourse existed long before this between Mecca and Yemen

through caravan trade, and in Yemen writing was well-known for centuries. In another tradition Abd ul Muttalib is said to have written to Medina for help in his younger days, i.e. about A.D. 520. Both Jews and Christians also dwelt in the vicinity of Mecca for two hundred years before the Hegira, and used some form of writing.

Muir says, "It is evident that writing of some sort was known and practised at Mecca long before A. D. 560. At all events, the frequent notices of written papers leave no room to doubt that Arabic writing was well known, and not uncommonly practised there in Mahomet's early days. I cannot think with Weil, that any great want of writing materials could have been felt, even by the poorer Moslems in the early days of Islam. Reeds and palm-leaves would never be wanting."

He quotes an account from Katib al Waqidi, showing that Mecca was far in advance of Medina in the art of writing, so that after the battle of Bedr many of the Meccan prisoners were compelled to teach the art of writing to the children of Medina. Each captive was assigned ten boys, and their tuition, when completed, was to be accepted as a full ransom.¹

Hartmann also in a long note (Vol. ii, p. 425 of *Der Islamische Orient*) shows that writing was very common in Yemen and North Arabia, and that there was close intercourse between Mecca and both these provinces as well as with Persia. He says, "There is no doubt that writing on parchment was an ordinary custom for poets, merchants, etc."

There are many traditions which show that writing was not uncommon in Mecca about Mohammed's time, and the traditions which ascribe a prejudice on his part against writing appear to have no good foundation. We find mention of Abu 'l-Abbas, the uncle of Mohammed having left behind him a camel-load of MSS. Ali copied out certain precepts of the Prophet, and in order to have them constantly at hand, tied the roll round the handle of his

¹Cf. *Muir* Vol. I, p. viii and Vol. III, p. 123.

sword.² Jaber and Yaser, two sword-makers in Mecca, are mentioned by the commentators as being in the habit of reading the Taurat and the Injil when Mohammed passed them, and he listened to their reading. On the first page of Al-Bukhari's collection of traditions, we read that Waraqa bin Naufal, Khadijah's cousin, read the Gospel and copied it in Hebrew character. Others say Arabic and Hebrew.³

The cursive Arabic script was in use as early as the time of Mutalammis and Tarafa, the second half of the sixth century, A. H.⁴ The rise of Islam no doubt helped to spread a knowledge of writing, but did not originate it. Louis Cheikho in his "Arabic Studies on Christian Literature in Arabia before Islam," devotes a chapter to prove that the art of writing itself was introduced by Christians both in South and North Arabia long before the Hegira.

The two kinds of characters used, namely, the Nabati and the Naskhi, and which exist today in rock inscriptions, as well as in documents, owe their origin to Christians. Berger writes: "*L'écriture Arabe existait avant Mahomet, elle a été chrétienne avant d'être musulmane.*"⁵ And Wellhausen affirms the same: "*Die Christen haben, des Arabischen wol zuerst als schriftsprache gebraucht. Namentlich die Ibaedier von Hira und Anbar scheinen sich in dieser Beziehung Verdienste erworben zu haben.*"⁶

We also read in the Aghani⁷ the tradition above quoted that Waraqa bin Naufal wrote portions of the Gospel record in Hebrew letters. Cheikho goes on to show that a great number of Koran words, especially the names and attributes of God, the terms used in regard to the rewards and punishment of the future life, and the religious vocabulary in general (which are usually attributed to Mohammed's genius) all occur in pre-Islamic Christian poetry.⁸

²Muir's *The Mohammedan Controversy*, p. 114.

³Cf. Al Asqalani's *Fath-ul-Bari Commentary*, Vol. i, p. 19.

⁴*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. i, p. 383.

⁵*Histoire de l'Écriture Chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam*, p. 287.

⁶*Reste Arabischen Heidentums*, p. 232.

⁷3:14.

⁸See his book, *Le Christianisme et la Littérature Chrétienne en Arabie avant l'Islam*, Vol. ii, p. 158 to 199.

Moslem tradition is in this respect unreliable. We are told, for example, that at Mecca at the time of the Prophet only seventeen men were able to write! Their names are preserved for us by al-Baladhuri (see last chapter Arabic edition of the text, Cairo 1901.) This statement seems very improbable, not to say, impossible. The Fathu-l-Bari mentions the names of the amanuenses of the Prophet,⁹ and says they numbered no less than forty-two.¹⁰ While this may be an exaggeration, it certainly seems to prove that the art of reading and writing was not uncommon. Letters were written by the order of Mohammed to foreign rulers, and we even hear of a correspondence kept up in Hebrew with the Jews. (See Abu Daoud under the heading *Reports from the Ahl-al-kitab*.)

Among the wives of the Prophet we are sure that at least Ayesha and Hafza could read and write. The frequent mention of "writing" and "the book" in the Koran (240 times) is striking in this connection, especially if the speaker of the words was himself wholly unacquainted with either writing or reading, and did not have an abundance of material. The Meccans, in fact, like the Egyptians in their fondness for writing, used all possible materials. Our information is fairly extensive and is derived from an account of the missionary epistles sent out by the Prophet and of the collection of the Koran. The chief materials were leather, palm-leaf, the broad shoulder blades of the camel, (these are still used in Oman, Arabia, in the day schools) potsherds, flat white stones, wooden tablets, parchment and papyrus.¹¹ Moritz says, "It may be regarded as certain that in a commercial town like Petra, the art of writing was in common use at the beginning of the third century."¹²

In view of the facts given above and the statement that Mohammed himself had so many secretaries, there were doubtless more than seventeen persons in the religious

⁹Vol. ix, p. 19.

¹⁰Casanova (*Moh. et la Fin du Monde*, p. 96, 97) gives their names from five different authorities.

¹¹*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *Arabic*.

¹²*Encyclopaedia of Islam*, art. *Arabic*.

capital, with its large pilgrim traffic, who were literate. Mohammed himself was a most intelligent man, and had acted for a long time as mercantile agent for Khadijah. When we remember what this involves in wholesale caravan traffic with distant Syria, it is not unnatural to suppose that he may have had opportunity to learn to read and to write.¹³ He might even have learned the art from two of his wives.

II

On what then is the general Mohammedan denial of their Prophet's ability to read or write based? On one word, *ummi*, used six times in the Koran, and on one obscure passage where the Angel Gabriel bids him "read" (*iqra*) and he replies, "I am not a 'reader.'" Let us examine the words used, and see whether their significance by derivation or usage will bear the weight of the interpretation that has become current, or contradicts it.

The word *ummi* occurs six times in the Koran. We copy the passages in order and follow Palmer's translation (and mistranslation.)

The chapter of the Heifer (ii, v. 74): "and some of them are *illiterate folk* that know not the book but only idle tales."

The chapter of Imran's family (iii, v. 19): "and say to those who have been given the book and unto the *Gentiles*, are ye too resigned?"

The chapter of *Al 'Araf* (vii, vs. 155; 158): "who follow the apostle the *illiterate Prophet*; whom they find written down for them in the law and the gospel Believe thou then in God and His Apostle the *illiterate Prophet* who believes in God and in His words."

The chapter of the Congregation (lxii, v. 2): "He it is who sent unto the *Gentiles* a prophet amongst themselves to recite to them His signs and to purify them and

¹³Margoliouth (Mohammed, p. 67-69) shows that he even had a shop at Mecca, and kept accounts.

to teach them the book and wisdom, although they were before in obvious error."¹⁴

The words in italics in these passages are all the translations of one root-word in Arabic, *ummi*. Palmer hesitates to render them all with the word "gentile," although his comment on chapter iii, v. 19, shows his opinion: "Mohammed seems to have borrowed the expression from the Jews; *ummiyyun*, having the same significance as the Hebrew *goyim*." (Palmer, vol. i, p. 48.)

Lane (Arabic Dictionary, vol. i, p. 92) who has collected the views of the Arabic lexicographers, begins by saying: "*ummi* properly means *gentile*—in a secondary sense a heathen; one not having a revealed scripture; or belonging to the nation of the Arabs, who did not write nor read, and therefore metaphorically applied to anyone not knowing the art of writing nor that of reading. Mohammed was termed *ummi*, meaning a gentile, as distinguished from an Israelite; according to most of his followers, meaning illiterate. Some assert that Mohammed became acquainted with writing after he had been unacquainted therewith, referring to the Koran (xxix: 47), where it is said, 'Thou didst not read before it from a book, nor didst thou write it with thy right hand.'"

Rodwell also in a note on chapter vii, 157, expresses the opinion that the word *ummi* (*illiterate*) is equivalent to the Greek *ethnic* and the Hebrew word *goyim*, and was applied by the Jews to those unacquainted with the Scriptures. He says, "There could be no doubt that Mohammed in spite of his assertions to the contrary, with a view to proving his inspirations, was well acquainted with the Bible histories. He wished to appear ignorant in order to raise the elegance of the Koran into a miracle." Whether this be so or not, the manner in which this expression is thrown into the verse and the whole context raise the conjecture which, as Dr. Wherry points out, becomes almost a certainty that "this appellation came originally from the Jews who used it in expressing their contempt

¹⁴All of these are Medina verses except vii: 155-158.

for the Gentile prophet. Mohammed would readily adopt the name under the circumstances."¹⁵

Regarding the meaning of the word *ummi*, At-Tabari says, (vol. iii: 142) commenting on the word in Sura Alu 'Imran: "the *ummiyyun* are those among the Arabs who have no revelation." We read in the Arabic dictionary *Taj al Aroos* that Mohammed was not altogether illiterate, but that "he could not distinguish between good and bad writing." We are also told that some traditions state that he learned to read and write after he became a Prophet.

In the commentary called *al-Khazin* (vol. ii: 146) the following interpretation of the word *ummi* shows the growth of the legend. "The Prophet could neither read nor write *nor cypher*, and this the authorities are agreed is an evidence of the greatest miracle in the case of the Koran."

Fahr er-Razi, however, (vol. viii: 149) in commenting on chapter vii: 2, says: "*ummi* means related to the people of the Arabs, because they are an *ummi* people, who have no book, and do not read a book or write." Ibn Abbas says the meaning is, "those who have no book and no prophet sent unto them." He reiterates this explanation on Sura iii, 19, but in obscure phrases. (vol. ii: 426.)

At-Tabari is more definite in his comment (vol. xxviii: 61) on the same verse: "The people of Mohammed were called *ummiyyun* because no revelation had come to them." This shows very clearly that the word *ummi* does not mean illiterate, but *Gentile*. While on Sura iii, 19, he says (vol. iii: 143) "Those to whom the Book (Revelation) came among the Jews and Christians and the *ummiyin*, who have no book, the Arab polytheists."

Baidhawi (vol. i: 150) interprets: "The *ummi* is he who neither reads nor writes." The commentary called *Al-Khazin* says (vol. ii: 147): "The *ummi* is he who is

¹⁵"In any Arabic dictionary if we take *all* the meanings, and *all* the derived forms from the root word *amma=qasada* we cannot anyhow arrive at 'illiterate.' Not a shade, not a vestige of authority do we find except the Koran Commentators, who naturally had a theory to support." A. T. URSON.

like the Arabs or the people of the Arabs because most of them neither write nor read." Then goes on to quote a tradition according to which Mohammed said: "We are an *umma* (people) *ummiyya*: we neither write nor cypher." (sic.)

Fahr er-Razi says: "Concerning the word in question the learned differ in regard to the meaning of it: some of them say that *ummi* is he who does not confess belief in a book nor in an apostle. Others say it is he who does not know how to read and write skillfully. This second significance is more credited because there were *ummi* among the Jews, and they believed in a book and an apostle; and also because Mohammed himself said we are a people *ummi*: we do not write and we do not cypher." (vol. i: 309.)

The new Islam leaders are also perplexed in regard to this problem. Mohammed Ali, in his translation of "*The Holy Koran*" (Woking, 1917) commenting on chapter ii:76 says that the word *ummiyyun* is specially applied to the Arabs who were generally unacquainted with reading and writing. He strongly objects to the definition of the word as given by Rodwell and Lane. In a long footnote (No. 950) he protests that the word *ummi* can never mean gentile, and says that Lane's conclusion in his dictionary "is entirely without foundation."

In another passage, however, (Suratu 'l-Jumu'ah), he himself translates the same word as *Meccan*, and his conclusion (page 362) is that there is ground for believing that Mohammed could write after revelation came to him, although he still had his letters written by scribes. In the Preface to the same work there is a long, although very lame argument, to prove that "The Holy Prophet left at his death a complete written Koran with the same arrangement of the verses and the chapters that we now have."

There are indications, we admit, in the Koran that some of its chapters existed in written form at a very early date. For example, Sura 56:77, "None shall touch it (the written copy) save the purified." Also the account of the

conversation of Omar who discovered a written copy of an entire chapter—the twentieth—in the house of Fatima. Why could not Mohammed himself have written it?

III

Orientalists are disagreed on the subject. In discussing the question whether Mohammed used written sources for his "revelations," Otto Pautz gives a list of authorities who have expressed an opinion on the question whether Mohammed could read and write, *pro* and *con* as follows:

Those who affirm it: M. Turpin, *Histoire de la vie de Mahomet*. 1, p. 285-88. Boulainvilliers, S. 232 Anm. S. F. G. Wahl, *D. Koran*, Einl. S. LXXVIII f. A. Sprenger, *D. Leb. u. d. Lehre des Mohammed*. 11, S. 398-402. G. Weil, *Hist. krit. in d. Koran*. 2 Aufl. S. 39 Anm. 1. H. Hirschfeld, *Judische Elemente im Koran*. Berlin, 1878, S. 22.

Those who deny it he gives as follows: Marracci, Ref. p. 535. M. Prideaux, *La vie de Mahomet* p. 43. S. Ockley, *The History of the Saracens*, 3rd ed. *The Life of Mahomet*, p. 11. C. F. Gerock, *Vers. e. Darst. d. Christologie des Koran*. S. 9. A. P. Caussin de Perceval a. a. O. i, p. 353. J. M. Arnold, *D. Islam*. S. 230. E. H. Palmer, *The Koran* transl. 1. Introduction. p. XLVII. L. Ullmann, *D. Koran ubers.* S. 129. Anm. 4.¹⁶

Otto Pautz himself leaves the question unsettled; his argument being that the question of Mohammed's use of written sources once closed, the other is unimportant.

Nöldeke¹⁷ shows that the word *ummi* is everywhere used in the Koran in apposition to *Ahl ul-kitab*, that is the Possessors of the Sacred Scriptures: therefore it cannot signify one who does not read and write; but (as we have seen from the Arabic authorities themselves) one who did not possess or who had no access to former revelations. Nöldeke, although he admits that Mohammed had no access to the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as we understand them, says that the question of Mohammed's illiteracy is confused, because the references given by Moslems on this point are contradictory. The common tradition, he goes on to show, is due not because men were in search of the truth but rather it was manufactured

¹⁶Muhammad's Lehre von der Offenbarung, Leipzig 1898, p. 257.

¹⁷Geschichte des Qurans, p. 10.

to establish dogmatic or political opinions. Generally speaking, the Sunnis deny his ability to read and write, while the Shias affirm it.

Sprenger speaks of one, namely Mohammed bin Mohammed bin Nu'man, (died 413 A.H.), who wrote a book on the subject establishing the literacy of the Prophet.

The testimony of the Shiah is summed up in the celebrated collection called *The Hyat-ul-Kuloob*, translated by the Rev. James L. Merrick, Boston, 1850, under the title "*The Life and Religion of Mohammed.*" He correctly states in his preface that this is the most popular standard work in Persian:

"In regard to the Prophet's title of *ummi*, traditions are contradictory. Some say he was so styled because he could not read or write. Others maintain that it referred to his *ummet*, or sect, conveying the idea that he was like the illiterate Arabs. Another party insist that the title is taken from *umm* (mother) denoting that the prophet was as simple as a newborn infant. There are traditions which state that the title is derived from *Umm-ul-kora*, an epithet of Mekka, and consequently that *ummi* would signify Mekkaite. There is nothing contrary to the position that the prophet was never taught to read and write before his assumption of the prophetic office, and to this agrees a verse of the Koran, in which the Most High declares to him, 'Thou couldst not read any book before this; neither couldst thou write it with thy right hand; then had the gainsayers justly doubted of the divine original thereof.'¹⁸ Tradition is likewise contradictory whether he read and wrote after his assumption of the prophetic office, but there can be no doubt of his ability to do this, inasmuch as he knew all things by divine inspiration, and as by the power of God he could perform acts which were impossible to all others. He had his own wise reasons for not reading and writing himself, and generally ordered his attendants to read letters which he received. The Imam Jafer-as-Saduk reckons it a special favour

¹⁸Sura, 29: 47.

of heaven that he was raised up among a people, who, although they had letters, had no divine books and were therefore called *ummi*."

"It is related that a person inquired of the Imam Mohammed Taky, why the prophet was called *Ummi*. The *imam* demanded what the *Sunnis* said on this subject, and was answered,—That sect insisted he could not write. The *imam* gave them the lie, invoked a curse on them, and demanded how the prophet could be ignorant when he was sent to instruct others On the authority of the Imam Saduk, it is related that when Abu Sufian marched for Ohod, Abbas wrote to inform Mohammed of the fact. He received the letter when in the garden of Medina with some of his companions. After reading the communication he ordered the people about him to enter the city, and then disclosed to them the news. The same *imam* also certifies that the prophet read and wrote."¹⁹

Many educated Moslems in our day agree with the Shiah that it would be unworthy of one who occupied so high a rank as God's Messenger to be ignorant of the very elements of knowledge.

One of the traditions which the Shiah advance is the celebrated incident in connection with the treaty made in the sixth year of the Hegira with the Quraish at a place near Mecca, named Hudaibiya. The account is preserved by Bukhari and Muslim (vol. ii: 170.) Ibn Hisham has also recorded it at length in his *Siratu 'r-Rasul* (vol. ii: 175, ed. Bulac, 1295 A.H.) The former tells us that Ali was chosen as the prophet's amanuensis on this occasion, and that when Mohammed bade him write the words, "A treaty between Mohammed the Prophet of God and Suhail bin 'Amr," the latter objected to the term "Apostle of God," remarking that if the Quraish acknowledged that, there would be no necessity for opposing Mohammed at all. The latter then turned to 'Ali and told him to cut out the words "Apostle of God"

¹⁹Merrick—*The Life and Religion of Mohammed as contained in the Sheeah Traditions of The Hyat-ul-Kuloob*, Boston. 1850, pp. 86, 87.

and write in their stead the words suggested by Suhail, viz: "Son of Abdullah!" To this 'Ali objected, saying, "By God I will never cut it out." Then, the narrative proceeds,—“The apostle of God took the writing and though he did not write well, wrote what he had ordered ('Ali) viz., 'Mohammed son of Abdullah.'”²⁰

This account is also found in the commentary by Al Bagawi on chapter 48, verse 25, and at greater length in Tabari's *Al-Mawahib al-Laduniya*. The question, however, arises, as Nöldeke indicates, whether this even is positive proof that Mohammed could write. The word *kataba* is sometimes used to signify "dictated"; the text also may have been corrupted.

Nöldeke comes to the following conclusions:²¹ (a) Mohammed desired to be known as one who did not understand reading and writing; he therefore employed a number of scribes and always had letters that came to him read out to him. (b) He did not have access to the Bible or other Christian books, least of all to a book entitled "*Asatir al-Awalin*." He proves that all the deductions of Sprenger regarding the use of this word in the Koran are at fault. The word is not derived from the Greek *historia*, but is a double plural from the Arabic *satr*—a line of script. (c) This does not exclude the fact that Mohammed used the oral traditions of Jews and Christians as well as the unwritten traditions current among his own people.

The frequency with which Mohammed feels it necessary to resent the charge of the Meccan idolaters that the Koran was a book composed by fraud is certainly indicative that they must have known something of his methods and of his sources. In chapter xxv, verse 5, we read: "The unbelievers say, Verily this Koran is a mere fraud of his own devising, and others have helped him with it who had come hither by pillage and lie; and they say these are tales of the ancients that he hath put in writing, and they

²⁰Caetani, (*Annali dell' Islam*, vol. i, pp. 716-717) gives the account and the references in full.

²¹*Geschichte des Qurans*, pp. 12-14.

were dictated to him morning and evening.” (Palmer’s translation).

Compare also Sura xvi: 105, where the same charge is made. In neither passage does Mohammed answer the charge by *saying that he can neither read nor write*.

Qastalani, according to Sprenger, gives the history of a dispute that took place in Spain in which the philosopher Avenpace held that Mohammed could both read and write; although he was condemned as a heretic for holding this opinion. In one of the disputes that arose on this question, a Koran passage (Sura xxix: 46) was used by the Moslems themselves to show that although Mohammed could not read before revelation came to him, he was able afterwards both to read and to write. Sprenger gives other proofs, which are not so conclusive, although they are cumulative. He quotes traditions according to which Mohammed gave instructions to one of his scribes in words that prove his knowledge, not only of penmanship, but of calligraphy. How else could he have said:

“Put down the ink pot, cut the pen, divide the strokes of the *sin* and do not lengthen the *mim* so much.” He quotes the story in regard to the treaty at Hudaibiya, although the different versions do not agree in detail.

Ibn Abi Shaiba said: “The Prophet knew how to read and write before he died. I have known people who have affirmed this.” If this tradition is reliable, it is important, for Ibn Abi Shaiba died A. H. 105. The scene described by many authorities in the older biographies, and which took place three days before Mohammed’s death on June 4, 632, would leave no doubt in the matter if we could trust Mohammedan tradition.

Shahrastani gives the words of the Prophet used on this occasion, as follows: “Bring the inkstand and a sheet, that I may write something, in order that you will not be misled after me.” This tradition comes to us from the lips of an eye-witness and is preserved by different Companions and their followers. There is no version of the tradition in which Mohammed does not express the wish

that he himself should use the pen. (See Ibn Sa'ad, page 149 and vol. ii, page 398, Sprenger's Mohammed, who gives a list of no less than nine *Isnads* for the tradition.)

We will now examine the so-called earliest chapter of the Koran (Sura 96), which has suffered from mistranslation due to a misconception of the story on which it is based. Hirschfeld²² comments on the legend, after relating it, as follows:

"During my sojourn on Mount Hira," said the Prophet, "the archangel Gabriel appeared to me, seized me, and said: *Iqra'*! (proclaim.) I replied, I am no proclaimer (reader.) The angel seized me again and repeated: *Iqra'*...I said: I am no proclaimer. Finally he forced me to say: *Iqra' bismi rabbika*."

"I did not translate the word *Iqra* in my rendering of the legend, although I translated it in the verse by *proclaim*, my object being to call attention to the early misunderstanding of the word by traditionists and interpreters of the Koran as well as by modern translators and biographers of the Prophet. For the sentence in question is nothing but an Arabic version of the phrase in the Pentateuch (Gen. xii, 8, in connection with iv. 26.) 'He proclaimed the name of the Lord.'"

Strange to say the authenticity of this tradition has not been questioned, although it is called not a vision, but a dream by Ibn Ishak, al-Baghawi, al-Baidawi, and others.

If Hirschfeld gives the true translation, another argument used to prove that Mohammed was illiterate utterly disappears, for the tradition is evidently an explanation of the Koran text made later. The name of the angel Gabriel is not mentioned in any Meccan revelation at all and was at that period apparently unknown to Mohammed. The tradition could therefore not have arisen until many years later.

The uncertainty regarding the text and its significance in the tradition mentioned is clear when we consult the commentaries. For example, the author of Fath-ul-Bari

²²New Researches into the Composition and Exegesis of the Koran, 1902, p. 18.

(vol. i, p. 18) in his comment on Bukhari's text, states that "the meaning of the words *ma ana biqari* are 'I am not able to read well or readily.'" He goes on to say that the text itself is uncertain, and that according to one narrator, Mohammed did not say "I cannot read," nor "I am not a reader," but he said, "How can I read?", or again, according to another account: "What shall I read?"

All of this shows that the matter is uncertain, and God knows best, as the Moslems say.

Even if we admit that the word *igra'* signifies to read a book, it is not at all certain that the reply of the prophet as given in the tradition signified "I cannot read." Rather, as Sprenger shows (*Life of Mohammed*, Allahabad, 1851, p. 95) it signifies: "I am not reading at present."

Sprenger's arguments, although old, are not yet answered. He believes that Mohammed had access to portions of the genuine and some of the apocryphal Scriptures. At-Tabari tells us that when Mohammed first gave his revelations even his wife Khadijah had read the scriptures and was acquainted with the history of the Old Testament prophets.

"It is preposterous" (Sprenger concludes) "to suppose that though the Arabs in the north and west of the Peninsula were Christians, and had a great number of monasteries, no translation of the Bible, or at least of a popular work containing the Scriptural History was then extant in Arabic. When the Musulmans conquered Hira, they found in the citadel young priests, who were Arabs, engaged in multiplying copies of the Bible. I have above asserted that the words of a tradition of 'Aishah which made some persons believe that Waraqa first translated the Scriptures into Arabic, means simply that he knew how to write Arabic, and that he copied in Arabic parts of the Bible. I have since come into the possession of a copy of Al-Zarkashi's commentary on Al-Bukhari. This author confirms the reading which I have chosen by observ-

ing on the words '*He used to write Hebrew.*' This is the reading of Al-Bukhari in this passage; but the reading in Muslim is, '*He used to write Arabic*'; and this is also the reading of Bukhari in the chapter on Dreams; and this must be received as the correct reading, because both Bukhari and Muslim agree on it." He further observes on the words '*He wrote the Gospel in Hebrew*'—the Qadhi says, this is the reading in this passage; but the correct reading is '*in Arabic*'; and this expression is an idiom. The reading in Muslim is also, '*He wrote the Gospel in Arabic.*'"

According to Fath-ul-Bari (vol. i, p. 19) Waraqa bin Naufal did not only read and write Arabic, but Hebrew as well. Moreover, Cheikho (p. 153) gives an account of how Zuhra bin Kilab, Mohammed's great-great-grandfather, wrote out the alphabet and taught it to others. Cheikho quotes from Baladhuri, who tells how the Arab merchants even in that day taught each other writing (*al-Khatt.*) One of Mohammed's scribes, Zaid bin Thabit, learned the Hebrew characters in two weeks and carried on Mohammed's correspondence in it with the Jews (Baladhuri p. 480, Cairo ed. 1901).²³

There are two other important references to Mohammed's writing. In regard to the treaty between Mohammed and the Koreish at Hudaibiya known as the oath of Ridhwan, Muir, (vol. iv, p. 33) gives a long account; although he does not mention the fact that when 'Ali refused to write the words, *Mohammed the son of Abdullah*, that Mohammed himself wrote these words. The following, however, is the tradition according to Waqidi (Muir's footnote): Mohammed wrote at the foot of the treaty, "The same shall be encumbent upon you toward us, as is encumbent upon us toward you."

The tradition in regard to Mohammed's calling for writing materials on his death bed, is given by Muir as follows:

²³His reference is to the Arabic text of Futuh ul-Buldan p. 471. This passage at the close of the book is unfortunately omitted by Dr. Hitti in his translation of the work. (Columbia University, N. Y.)

"About this time, recognizing 'Omar, and some other chief men in the room, he called out, 'Bring hither to me ink and paper, that I may record for you a writing which shall prevent your going astray for ever.' 'Omar said, 'He wandereth in his mind, is not the Koran sufficient for us?' But the women wished that the writing materials should be brought, and a discussion ensued. Thereupon one said, 'What is his condition at this present moment? Come let us see if he speaketh deliriously or not.' So they sent and asked him what his wishes were regarding the writing he had spoken of; but he no longer desired to indite it. 'Leave me thus alone,' he said, 'for my present state is better than that ye call me to.'"

When the women were about to bring the writing material, 'Omar chided them: 'Quiet,' he said, 'Ye behave as women always do; when your master falleth sick ye burst into tears, and the moment he recovereth a little ye begin embracing him.' Mohammed, jealous even on his death bed of the good name of his wives, was aroused by these words, and said, 'Verily they are better than ye are.' If this tradition be true, it shows that Mohammed was only partially delirious at the moment."²⁴

IV

Finally, we must mention a document known as a letter supposed to have been written by Mohammed himself, which, though in a somewhat damaged condition, has been accepted by Moslems in India as authentic, photographed by them and repeatedly published with translations in several languages.

Mr. Belin²⁵ describes the manner in which Mr. Barthelmy discovered the letter in a Coptic monastery, circumstantially, and gives the Arabic text. The following is the translation:

"In the name of God the Merciful, the Clement. From Mohammed the servant of God and His apostle, to Al-Makaukus, the chief of the Copts, Salutation to him who follows the right course. But after (this

²⁴Muir's *The Life of Mohammed*, vol. iv, pp. 271-272.

²⁵*Journal Asiatic Society*, vol. iv, pp. 482, 1854.

preliminary) I invite thee to accept Islam; make a profession of it, and be safe, God will give thee thy reward twice; but if thou refusest, the sin of the Copts will be upon thee. (Say) O people of the Scriptures, come to the word (of the profession) which will equalize us and you. We adore only Allah, and associate nothing with Him. Let us not take for ourselves lords besides God. If they refuse then say (to them) Bear witness that we are Moslems."

	Of God
Seal	Apostle
	Mohammed.

There is no doubt that the Prophet sent such a letter to the Makaukus or Governor of Alexandria; in all the standard biographies of Mohammed he is always mentioned among the number of the potentates to whom envoys with such letters of invitations to profess Islam were sent. The ancient document is not a papyrus but a parchment, yet in such a state that the precise nature of the characters cannot be ascertained; to judge from the facsimile, they are more like Naskhi than Cufic, so that they may perhaps be considered as a hybrid between the two; nor can any points or other vowel marks be discerned. M. Belin is of the opinion that the document in question was not the production of a forger like the Letters Patent of Mohammed, preserved by the Armenians of Asia Minor (and presented to the Government of the Viceroy of Egypt, in order to recover some rights and immunities conceded to them by the Prophet) but that it is undoubtedly genuine.²⁶

A copy of the letter referred to, together with a reproduction, was also printed at Cairo, 1909, in a little book on the history of Arabic writing, entitled *Dalil ul-kitab* by Hassan Shahab. In the same book by this professor of the Azhar University (page 46), we have a list of the women in Mecca who at the time of the Prophet could both read and write; namely, Shifa' the daughter of Abdallah; Adowiya, one of the women who was present at the birth of Mohammed; Um Kulthum, the daughter of Akba; Ayesha, and others. The Prophet, we are told

²⁶Traugott Mann, however, in his *Der Islam* (1914) p. 14, asserts that it is a forgery, although he gives no proofs.

ordered Shifa' to teach Hafza, one of his wives, reading and writing.

Educated Moslems therefore have accepted the evidence and approved of the genuineness of the document.²⁷ A facsimile photograph of the letter was published by the sons of Mohammed Ghulam Rasul Surti, bookseller in the Bhendi Bazaar, Bombay, a few years ago. The photograph in my possession shows in the center the original letter with the seal; on the right is an account of the discovery together with an Arabic translation of the ancient Cufic script. On the left the same appears in Urdu. The account given reads as follows:

"This is a photograph of the letter which Mohammed the Prophet sent and sealed with his seal, to the Mukaukus of the Copts in Egypt, in the seventh year of the Hegira. In the year 1275 A. H. one of the French Orientalists discovered the original letter among some Coptic documents in the Monastery of Akhmim, Upper Egypt. He took it to the Sultan Abd el-Mejid Khan, who commanded that it should be kept among the relics of the Prophet in Constantinople. This reproduction has been done by photograph from the original which is in the safe-keeping of our present Sultan Abdul Hamid. This photograph was taken in the year 1316."

Apparently among the Moslems of Bombay there is no doubt as to the genuineness of the letter.

There is no reason therefore why Mohammedans should emphasize the illiteracy of the Prophet except to bolster up their theory of the Koran as a miracle.

Fahr-er-Razi for example, says (vol. iv, p. 298) "If Mohammed had been able to read and write well, there would have been a suspicion that he had examined earlier books and copied his revelations from them."

The legend that Mohammed was illiterate grew with the centuries. Al Ghazali, for example, (Ihya, vol. ii, p. 250) says: "The prophet was *ummi*; he did not read, cypher, nor write, and was brought up in an ignorant country in the wild desert, in poverty while herding sheep; he was an orphan without father or mother; but God Himself taught him all the virtues of character and

²⁷In Tripoli, Syria, a different photographic reproduction of this letter was on sale at a book-shop this year. The book-seller, a Moslem Turk, assured me the letter was a genuine proof of Mohammed's literacy!

all the knowledge of the ancient and the modern world."

In view of the evidence given above, there *might* still be some doubt whether Mohammed could read and write; but the fact remains that Mohammedan Tradition and the later Koran commentators have done their best to utilize the very slender material in proof of his illiteracy, to build up a structure of miracle.

The fact is that in the later commentaries Mohammed is represented as being *without any acquired intelligence*, a sort of spiritual freak like some of the modern "saints" of Egypt. As Margoliouth remarks,²⁸ "This sort of logic is found wherever resort is had to oracles; it is a condition of their genuineness and importance that they should not be capable of explanation as the fruit of ordinary speculation. Hence those who deliver oracles are madmen, children, jesters, persons to whose reflections no value could be attached; indeed the tendency to accentuate Mohammed's illiteracy is evidence of the same theory."

S. M. ZWEMER.

²⁸Early Development of Mohammedanism, p. 70.

THE DOCTRINES OF THE ARABIAN "BRETHREN"

There is a wide-spread movement among the Arabs of Central Arabia back to primitive Islam. It is based upon the teachings of Muhammad bin Abdulwahhāb, the reformer, who founded the Wahhābī Movement in Central Arabia toward the close of the 18th century. The present *Ikhwān*, or "Brethren," Movement is a revival of Wahhābism, and accepts the same doctrines.

What follows is a translation of the first part of the Movement's chief piece of propaganda. At least two editions have been reprinted, one dated 1336, (1918), and the other 1338, (1920.) They are being distributed widely among the Arabs:

THE THREE FUNDAMENTALS, WITH THEIR PROOFS. Then follows the Regulations of the Worship, its Elements and its Requirements, and Four Instructions.

By the Shaikh of Islām, Muhammad bin Abdulwahhāb, may Allah give him great reward and merit, and give him an entrance into the Garden without any Reckoning!

In the name of Allah, the Merciful and Compassionate, Know, (O Reader and) may Allah show you mercy, that it is obligatory for us to learn four matters:

The first is knowledge, *i. e.*, knowledge of Allah, and knowledge of His Prophet, and knowledge of the religion of Islam, with the proofs.

The second is to practice it.

The third is to call (others) to it.

The fourth is perseverance under hardships in it.

The proof (of the above) is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "In the name of Allah the Merciful and Compassionate," "(I swear) by the Afternoon, verily, man is

at a loss, except those who believe, and do righteous deeds, and enjoin truth and enjoin patience on one another." (ciii.)

Al-Bukhāri, may Allah, Who is exalted, have mercy on him, says first of all: "Knowledge comes before saying and doing. The proof (of this) is the saying of Him Who is exalted, 'And know that there is no god but Allah, and ask forgiveness of your sin.' (xlvi: 21.) So He began with knowledge before saying and doing."

Know, (O Reader and) may Allah have mercy on you, that it is obligatory for every Moslem man and woman to know these three matters and to do them:

The first is that Allah created us and provided for us and never left us neglected, but rather sent to us a Messenger, so that whoever obeys him enters the Garden, and whoever disobeys him enters the Fire.

The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, We sent to you a messenger, a witness against you, just as We sent to Pharaoh a messenger, and Pharaoh disobeyed the messenger, and so We punished him with a heavy punishment." (lxxiii: 15, 16.)

The second is that Allah is not willing that anyone should be joined with Him in the worship of Him, neither an angel, who is near (Him), nor a prophet, who is sent (from Him.)

The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And, verily, the mosques are for Allah, and so, do not call upon anyone with Allah." (lxxii: 16.)

The third is that whoever obeys the Messenger, and reckons Allah as One, has it unlawful for him to associate with anyone who opposes Allah and His Messenger, even though he be one's nearest relative.

The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "You will not find a people who believe in Allah and the Last Day liking one who opposes Allah and His Messenger, even though they are their fathers or their sons or their brothers or their tribes. On the hearts of these Allah has graven faith, and He has established (them) by

a Spirit from Him, and He will give them entrance into the Garden under which rivers flow. They remain there forever, and Allah is pleased with them, and they are pleased with Him. These are the people of Allah. Are not the people of Allah those who fare well?" (lviii: 22.)

Know, (O Reader and) may Allah guide you to obedience of Him, that the Hanīfīs are the sect of Abraham, (which teaches) that we worship Allah only, holding faith toward Him only. Allah commanded all people to (do) this, and created them for this, as He, Who is exalted, said: "I did not create man and *jinn*, except to worship Me." (li: 56.) The meaning of "worship Me" is to hold Me as One. The greatest thing that Allah commanded is to hold to the unity, and that is to have Allah alone in worship, and the greatest thing that is prohibited is the association (of another with Allah), that is, to call upon someone else along with Him.

The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And worship Allah, and do not associate anything with Him." (iv: 40.)

When it is asked you: What are the three fundamentals which it is obligatory for a man to know? then say: (I) a man's knowledge of his Lord, and (II) of his religion, and (III) of his prophet, Mohammed, may Allah bless and save him.

(1) When you are asked: Who is your Lord? then say: My Lord is Allah, Who fostered me and fostered all the worlds by His grace. He is the one I worship, and I worship no other than Him.

The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Praise belongs to Allah, the Lord of the worlds." (i: 1.) All that is other than Allah is the world, and I am (part) of that world.

(2) When it is asked of you, By what have you known your Lord? then say: "By His signs and His creations, and among His signs are night and day, the sun and the moon, and among His creations are the seven heavens and

the seven earths, and those who are in them, and what is between them."

The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And among His signs are the night and day, the sun and moon. Do not prostrate to the sun and moon; prostrate to Allah, Who created them, if you would worship Him." (xli:37.) Also, the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, your Lord is Allah, Who created the heavens and the earth in six days, and then sat down upon the throne, covering the day with the night, coming after it quickly. The sun and the moon and the stars are compelled by His command. Are not the (whole) creation and the ordering (of it) His? Blessed be Allah, the Lord of the worlds!" (vii:52.)

(3) The Lord is the One Who is to be worshipped. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "O men, worship your Lord Who created you, and those who were before you, that you might fear Him Who made the earth to be (your) bed, and the heaven your covering, and sent down from heaven water, and by it sent forth of its fruits as sustenance for you, and do not make any idols for Allah, since you have knowledge." (ii:19, 20.)

Ibn Kathīr, may Allah be merciful to him, said, "The Creator of these things is the One Who is worthy of worship."

(4) The kinds of worship which Allah commanded are such as submission, faith and good works, among which are (a) petition, (b) fear, (c) hope, (d) trust, (e) desire, (f) dread, (g) reverence, (h) awe, (i) returning to Allah, (j) seeking help, (k) seeking refuge, (l) seeking rescue, (m) sacrificing, (n) vowing, and other items of worship that Allah commanded. All are to (be performed to) Allah.

(a) The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And the mosques are for Allah, and so do not call upon anyone along with Allah." (lxxii:18.) Whoever expends any of them upon anyone else besides Allah is a polytheist, an unbeliever, and "Whoever calls upon any

other god with Allah, for whom he has no proof, then verily his reckoning is with his Lord. Verily, the unbelievers will not fare well." (xxiii: 117.)

In tradition (it is said): "Petition is the soul of worship." The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And your Lord said, 'Call upon Me, and I will answer you. Verily, those who are too proud to worship Me will enter Hell humbled.'" (xl: 62.)

(b) The proof for fear is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "So do not fear them but fear Me, if you would be believers." (iii: 169.)

(c) The proof for hope is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "So whoever hopes to meet his Lord, should then do good works, and not have anyone share in (his) worship of his Lord." (xviii: 110.)

(d) The proof for trust is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And Allah trust, if you would be believers," (v: 26), and "Whoever trusts Allah his sufficiency is He." (lxv: 3.)

(e), (f), (g) The proof for desire, dread and reverence is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, they were wont to vie in good deeds, and call upon Us with desire and dread, and they revered Us." (xxi: 90.)

(h) The proof for awe is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "So do not be in awe of them, and do be in awe of Me." (See all) the verse. (ii: 145.)

(i) The proof for returning (to Allah) is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And return to your Lord, and submit to Him." (See all) the verse. (xxxix: 55.)

(j) The proof for seeking help is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Thee we worship and Thee we implore for help." (1: 4.) Also, in Tradition (it says): "When you ask help, ask help of Allah."

(k) The proof for seeking refuge is: "Say, I seek refuge with the Lord of men, the King of men." (cxiv: 1, 2.)

(l) The proof for seeking rescue is the saying of Him

who is exalted: "When you sought refuge of your Lord, He rescued you." (See all) the verse. (viii:9.)

(m) The proof for sacrificing is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Say, Verily, my worship and my sacrifice and my time of life and my time of death are unto Allah, the Lord of the worlds. He has no associate. That I have been commanded, and I am the first of the Moslems." (vi:163.) From the *Sunna*, Customs, (is this proof): "Allah curses whoever sacrifices to anyone besides Allah."

(n) The proof for vowing is the saying of Him who is exalted: "Then pay the vow and fear the day whose woe is wide-spreading." (lxxvi:7.)

II

The second fundamental is knowledge of the religion of Islam, with the proofs. It is the submission to Allah, doing it to Him alone, and following Him with obedience, and freedom from polytheism. It consists of three categories: 1, submission, 2, faith, and 3, doing good works. Each category has elements.

1. The elements of submission are five (in number): (a) the witness that "there is no god but Allah, and Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah;" (b) the performance of the worship; (c) the payment of the legal rates; (d) the fast of Ramadan; and (e) the pilgrimage to the sacred house of Allah.

(a) 1. The proof for the witness is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Allah witnessed that there is no god but He;—(likewise) the angels and the possessors of knowledge. He (it is) Who establishes justice. There is no god but He, the Mighty and Wise." (iii:16.)

2. The meaning of it is: There is no true object of worship except Allah alone, no god at all, denying all other than Allah that might be worshipped, except Allah, confirming the worship to Allah alone, Who has no associate in His worship, as there is no associate with him in His sovereignty.

3. The exposition which explains it clearly is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And when Abraham said to his father and his people, 'I am clear of whatever you worship except Allah Who created me, and so He, verily, will guide me,' he made it a statement to remain after him, in order that they might perhaps turn (to Him.))" (xliii: 25, 26, 27.) Also, the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Say, O people of the Book, come to a right statement between us and you, that we will not worship any other than Allah, and not make anyone an associate with Him, and not adopt one another as lords, rather than Allah, and, if they turn away, then say, Witness that we are Moslems." (iii: 57.)

4. The proof for the witness that Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, there has come to you a messenger from among yourselves, who has it hard for him to bear what you have committed, and who earnestly desires you to be Moslems, kind and merciful." (ix: 129.)

5. The meaning of the witness that "Mohammed is the Messenger of Allah" is obeying what he commanded and believing what he declared and avoiding what he prohibited and cried against, and not worshipping Allah except in accordance with what he ordained.

(b), (c). The proof for the worship and the paying of the legal rates as well as an exposition of the holding to the unity (of Allah) are contained in the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And they were not commanded (anything) except to worship Allah, performing religious duties solely to Him as Hanīfīs, (true worshippers), and to maintain the worship and to pay the legal rates. That is the right religion." (xcviii: 4.)

(d) The proof for the fast is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "O you who have believed, it is prescribed for you to fast, as it was prescribed for those who were before you, that you might perhaps fear Allah." (ii: 179.)

(e) The proof for the pilgrimage is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And the pilgrimage to the house (of

Allah) is (a service due) to Allah from men who are able to make the journey, and whoever disbelieves, (should know that Allah can do without all creation." (iii: 91, 92.)

The second category is faith. It contains seventy odd parts: the highest is saying, "There is no god but Allah," and the least is removing an obstacle from the roadway. "Modesty is a part of faith."

Its elements are six in number: That you believe in (a) Allah, (b) His angels, (c) His Books, (d) His Messenger, (e) the last day, and (f) the decree of both good and evil.

The proof of these six elements is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "It is not piety for you to turn your faces toward the east and the west, but piety consists in believing in Allah and the last day and the angels and the Book and the prophets." (See all) the verse. (ii: 172.) The proof for power is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, everything we have created by power." (liv: 49)

III. The third category is doing good works. It consists in one element, and that is that you worship Allah as though you see Him, for, though you do not see Him, He sees you.

The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, Allah is with those who fear Him, and those who do good works." (xvi: 128.) Also, the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And trust the Mighty and Merciful One, Who sees you when you rise, and your behaviour among those who prostrate. Verily, He hears and knows. (xxvi: 217-220.) Also the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And you are not at anything, and do not read the Koran, and do not do any work, without Our being witness against you when you engage in it." (See all) the verse. (x: 62.)

The proof from the *Sunna*, Customs, is the well-known tradition about Gabriel, from 'Umar-bin Al-Khattāb, may Allah be pleased with him: He said, "When we were sitting with the Prophet, May Allah bless and save him,

behold a man appeared to us with clothes exceedingly white, with hair exceedingly black, on whom were seen no traces of travel, and whom none of us knew. He sat near the Prophet, Allah bless and save him, and propped his knees against his knees, and placed his hands upon his thighs, and said, 'O Mohammed, tell me about Islam.' He said: "It is that you witness 'There is no god but Allah, and that Mohammed is the Prophet of Allah,' and that you maintain the worship, and give the legal rate and fast in Ramadan and make the pilgrimage to the house, if you are able to make the journey." He said: "You have spoken truly." We wondered at him, asking him and confirming him. He said: "Tell me about faith." He said: "It is that you believe in Allah, His angels, His books, His messengers and the last day and the decree of good and evil." He said: "Tell me about doing good." He said: "It is that you worship Allah as though you see Him, for verily, He sees you." He said: "Tell me about the Hour." He said: "The one who is questioned about it is not more informed about it than the one who questions." He said: "Tell me about its signs." He said: "They are that a maid-servant should bring forth her mistress, and that the bare-footed, naked, poor, (and) shepherds of sheep should continue long at building, (and so indicate wealth.)" He said: "And so he went, but we remained a while. Then he said: 'O 'Umar, do you know who the questioner was?' We said: 'Allah and His Prophet are better informed.' He said: 'That was Gabriel, who has come to you to teach you the subject matter of your religion.'"

The third fundamental is knowledge of your Prophet, Mohammed, Allah bless and save him. He is Mohammed Ibn Abdullah Ibn Abdulmuta'lib Ibn Hāshim. Hāshim was one of the Quraish, and the Quraish are of the Arabs, and the Arabs are of the descendants of Ismā'il, the son of Ibrāhīm the Friend, upon him and upon our Prophet be the most favored blessing and peace. He had sixty-three years of life, forty before his prophetic office

and twenty-three as a prophet and messenger. He was made a prophet by (the word) 'Recite,' (xcvi:1), and was sent by (the chapter of the Korān called) 'Al-Mudaththir, The Enveloper.' (lxxiv.) His town was Mecca.

Allah sent him with a warning against polytheism, and to call to unitarianism. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "O you enveloper (of yourself), rise and warn, and magnify your Lord, and cleanse your clothes and flee idolatry, and do not give, hoping to get more, and on your Lord patiently wait." (lxxiv:1-7.)

The meaning of "rise and warn" is to warn against polytheism, and to call to unitarianism. "Your Lord magnify" (means) to magnify Him by reckoning Him as One. "Cleanse your clothes" means to clear your deeds of polytheism. "Flee idolatry": *rujz* means idols, and *hajara* means leaving them and their kind and being free of them and their kind.

He remained ten years at this, calling to unitarianism, and after the ten years he was taken up to heaven, and the five performances of the worship were prescribed for him. He worshipped in Mecca three years and after that was commanded to flee to Al-Madina. The *hijrah* is to remove from the land of polytheism to the land of Islam. The flight is a duty prescribed upon this people, (to flee) from the land of polytheism to the land of Islām. It remains (in force) until the Hour comes.

The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, the angels, when they put to death those who were wronging their own souls, said, 'In what (faith) were you?' They said, 'We were helpless in the land.' They said, 'Was not Allah's country broad enough, so that you could emigrate into it?' So those have Hell for their resting-place, and evil will be the journey (of all) except those helpless men and women and children, who were not able to find means (to go) and were not guided in the way. Those, perhaps, Allah will pardon. Allah is pardoning and forgiving." (iv:99, 100.) Also, the saying of Him

Who is exalted: "O My worshippers who believe, verily, My country is broad, so worship Me, (only) Me." (xxix: 56.)

Al-Baghawī, may Allah show him mercy, said, "The reason for the sending down of this verse (is that) among the Moslems who were in Mecca (were some who) did not emigrate. Allah called them in the name of faith."

The proof for the *hijrah*, emigration, from the *sunna*, customs, is the saying of him whom may Allah bless and save: "The emigration is not abolished until repenting is abolished, and repenting is not abolished until the sun rises from its place of setting."

While he remained in al-Madina he was commanded the rest of the laws of Islām like the legal rates and the fast and the pilgrimage and the call to worship and the holy war, and the prescription of kindness and the proscription of evil and others of the laws of Islām. He remained at this ten years and died. The blessing and peace of Allah be upon him.

His religion remains, and this is his religion: There is no good but he showed the people the way to it, and no evil but he warned them against it. The good he showed them the way to is unitarianism and all that Allah likes and is pleased with. The evil which he warned against was polytheism and all that Allah dislikes and disapproves. Allah sent him to all men and prescribed obedience of him upon all of the two classes of men and *jinn*. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Say, O men, verily, I am the messenger of Allah to you all." (vii: 157.) By him Allah perfected the religion. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Today I perfected your religion for you, and have completed My grace toward you and I have preferred Islām as (your) religion." (v: 5.)

The proof of his death is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, you are to die and they are to die, and then, verily, on the day of resurrection you will contend together before your Lord." (xxxix: 31, 32.)

Men, when they die, are resurrected. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "From it (the earth) We created you, and to it We return you, and from it We will bring you forth a second time." (xx: 57.) Also, the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And Allah caused you to spring forth from the earth as a plant. Then He will return you to it, and will surely bring you forth." (lxxi: 16, 17.)

After the resurrection there will be those who are judged and those who are requited according to their deeds. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And to Allah (belongs) what is in the heavens and what is in the earth, to requite those who did evil for what they did, and to requite those who did well with good." (liii: 32.) Whoever denies the resurrection is a *kafir*, unbeliever. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Those who are unbelievers assert that they will not be resurrected. Say, Yes, by my Lord, you will indeed be resurrected. Then you will be told what you have done. That is easy for Allah." (lxiv: 7.)

Allah sent all the messengers, heralds of good tidings and warners. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Messengers, heralds of good tidings and warners, in order that men should not have an argument against Allah after the messengers (have come)." (iv: 163)

The first of them was Noah, upon him be peace, and the last of them was Mohammed, may Allah bless and save him. He is the seal of the prophets. There will be no prophet after him. The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Mohammed was not a father of any one of your men, but the messenger of Allah and the seal of the prophets." (xxx: 40.) The proof that Noah was the first of them is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Verily, We revealed to you as We revealed to Noah and the prophets after him." (iv: 161.)

Among every people Allah has sent a messenger, from Noah to Mohammed, commanding them to worship Allah alone, and forbidding them to worship *Tāghūt*. The

proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "And verily, We have sent among every people a messenger (to say), 'Worship Allah and turn away from *Tāghūt*.'" (xvi: 38.)

Allah prescribed upon all people refusal of (obedience to) *Tāghūt* and belief in Allah. Ibn al-Qayim, may Allah have mercy on him, said: "The meaning of *Tāghūt* is whatever transgression a creature commits against One Who should be worshipped or followed or obeyed. The *Tāghūts* are many. The chief of them are five: Satan, may Allah curse him, and whoever is worshipped, himself being willing, and whoever calls men to worship him, and whoever claims any knowledge of the unrevealed, and whoever gives judgment in accordance with other than what Allah has sent down." The proof is the saying of Him Who is exalted: "Let there be no compulsion in religion. The right way has been distinguished from error. So whoever denies *Tāghūt*, ungodliness, and believes in Allah, has seized hold of the firm handle that will not be broken. Allah hears and knows." (ii: 257.)

This is the meaning of "There is no god but Allah." In tradition (it is said) "The head is Islam, submission. Its supports are the *salāt*, worship. The apex of its hump is the holy war in the way of Allah, and Allah knows best."

Kuweit, Arabia.

EDWIN E. CALVERLEY.

MOHAMMED AL-GHAZZALI

In the field of religious literature Ghazzali did for the faith of Islam approximately what Augustine did for Christianity. The following account of his life is translated from a Persian biographical history of Khorasan that is called the *Matla' ash-Shams*, or, The Place Where the Sun Rises. This name is significant because Khorasan is the province in Persia upon which the sun shines first. Care has been taken to make the translation sufficiently literal to exhibit the characteristic features of Moslem biographies although freedom has been exercised in omitting a certain amount of uninteresting repetition.

Mohammed Al-Ghazzali was one of the foremost men of the world. But while many Moslem authorities have considered him one of the Saints, others have regarded him as a heretic and have not permitted the reading of his books.

He was born in 450 or 451 A.H., in the city of Tus, the ancient capital of Khorasan, and when he reached the age to give attention to studies he began going to Ahmad Radkani for instruction. Later he went to Nishapur (which is known in western countries as the home of Omar Khayyam,) and there under the direction of Abu Muali Javeni, he pursued his studies with great application. In a short time he surprised his fellow students and attracted so much attention that even during the lifetime of his teacher his own name and reputation were widely known. It was in Nishapur that he began writing books.

He left Nishapur to go with the army of Sultan Jalal ud-Din, Malik Shah Seljuki, and became acquainted with the extraordinary vazier, Khoja Nizam-ul-Mulk,

Tusi, who had heard of his intellectual attainments. The court of the Nizam ul-Mulk was a place much frequented by the learned men of the age, so that Al-Ghazzali had an excellent opportunity for discussions on theology and science.

He is said to have been the winner in most of these debates, answering and silencing his opponents. From this his reputation and the confidence people had in him considerably increased, and he was appointed as "Director of Instruction" in the Government School in Bagdad and had under his instruction three hundred teachers. He was then thirty-three years of age.

The people, not only of Bagdad, but of all the province of Irak, were exceedingly pleased with him. His popularity was greater than that of any of the other religious teachers of Bagdad; in fact, he was even more popular than any of the leaders of the government or the grandees of the Caliphate. As Abdullah Yafi says in "The Mirror of the Heart" and again in "The Warning to Keep Awake," "The reason for the respect and honor paid to him in Bagdad was because his popularity surpassed that of all the scholars and officials in the Caliph's court."

And it was then, in the very midst of material prosperity and in his youth, that he severed his affections from the acquisition of position and the glory of superficial attainments, and sought to follow God according to his own splendid conscience. He shook from him office and property, position and glory. He had taught but four years, and he had to employ various arts of deception and subtleties of counsel to get free from the people of Bagdad.

With the intention of resigning employment and of living in solitude, he determined to make a pilgrimage to Mecca. One writer says that he went first to Mecca and returned to Syria, but in Ghazzali's own words, in his book, *Al-Munkaz min az-Zalal*, it would seem evident that he went from Irak to Syria, and that after about two years he made the pilgrimage to Mecca. He says:

"When through with my studies, with all my will I followed the way of the Sufis, and it became clear to me that in the final happiness there must be no covetousness except for piety and self-restraint from lust. And the soul of this task is the separation of the heart from the world, in keeping aloof from pride." The return to the world that is eternal and happy is only possible through the truth of the Almighty God. God does not accept the mere appearance of truth, there must be a turning away from position and property and an abandonment of occupation and affections. And when I looked I saw myself deceived, entangled with bonds and chains. It had seemed to me that the very best work that I did was the work of teaching. But when I examined this work minutely and reflected upon it I saw that in this teaching there was a personal satisfaction in unprofitable subjects of knowledge, and that this sort of thing would never be in demand in the final market. I examined my purpose in teaching and found that it was imperfect. That which drove me on to this work was nothing else than the quest of position, popularity, and reputation. So I knew truly that I was standing on the brink of Hell, that I had placed my foot on the lip of the fire, and that if I did not make provision for the time that was past and make good use of the present time, I was already established in infernal torment. The advantages of popularity and the distinctions of position bind your worthy foot in strong chains, but the victorious cry of faith and prayer for deliverance will break the thread of the affections.

"The Devil said to me, 'This is a sort of sickness that has come upon you, it will soon disappear. Wait until this feeling quiets down and you are restored to health from this melancholy sickness. But if you do not accept my advice, if you insist in breaking away from your present estate of wealth and convenience, it may be that your mad notion will completely overcome your reason. Or if you should afterwards desire these dignities and posi-

tions, after you have given them away, to return to them may not be possible.'

"For a period of six months there was this conflict between my reason and the Devil. At first I felt that I had the freedom of choice, that I could act according to whichever plan I chose, but afterwards it became a matter of necessity. God made my tongue fast so that I was unable to teach, and gradually this chaining of my tongue became the cause of excessive mental anxiety, and this affliction of the mind affected the health of my body. I lost the power of digestion so that neither food nor wine (sic) agreed with me, so that my strength became exceeding weakness. The doctors, unable to cure me, said, "This affair has gone to the heart and has influenced the body, so that there is no other way to cure it except by purging the heart from all that is unworthy." When I saw myself deprived of choice and forced by necessity, I appealed to the throne of the Most High God that He would give me salvation, and make the giving up of honors and position and wealth and family and children easy for me.

"So I made public the plan of going to Mecca, but in my heart I had the intention of making a journey to Syria. This was because of a fear that the Caliph and his companions, the Khoja and his friends, on becoming aware of my intention to remain for sometime in Syria, would prevent my going. In the end, by employing various little stratagems, I managed to come away from Bagdad. None of them felt that my departure was on account of any religious reason, for they all considered the position I held in the Government School as a very high office in the faith, and also as a place where I could extend the knowledge of the sciences and busy myself with the customary branches of learning. The learned valued nothing else more highly than the propagation of the law and faith of Islam.

"Then it was that the Turks and Seljuks from far and near sought to interpret my action. Those from a dis-

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tance explained my departure by saying that the rulers and grandees had come to dislike me, and that various prominent men and officials were displeased with my temperament and disposition. As for those near at hand, the importunity of the leading citizens of Bagdad and the solicitation of many friends in Irak all indicated a complete protest against my leaving. They said there was no sufficient reason for my departure, which would mean that the followers of Islam would suffer a grave injury, unless it should be indicated by some very special providence. However, I finally set out from Bagdad.

"Whatever I had in the way of property I distributed, except a certain necessary amount and provision for my children. Then I entered Syria and stayed in that country about two years. To sanctify my spirit, in seclusion and abstinence, I disciplined myself, purifying my character and making my heart clean for the service of God. This I did according to the practices I had learned from the Sufis.

"While in Damascus I stayed continually in the mosque. I would climb a minaret and spend the whole day there with the door of the minaret closed.

"Afterwards I went to Jerusalem, and in that holy place I entered every day the room of the sacred rock, and fastened the door.

"And then it was that I resolved to make the pilgrimage to Mecca, that at the end of my travels I might be helped by the blessings of Mecca and Medina and the Apostle of God. So I went on this pilgrimage, and it was while I was there that the urging of my children called me to Tus, my native place. I went back to my familiar home city. But I was still far from God. On my return to Tus, I chose seclusion, both from love and ambition, in order that I should remember God in isolation and in the purifying of my heart. I shut myself off from the society and events of the times, but for all that the demands of my wife and the necessities of life interfered with my contentment and spoiled the joy of my privacy.

"Thus I passed my time for ten years, and in the midst of those years of seclusion I had experiences which it is impossible to narrate or explain. But I came to the conviction that those who are following the way of truth are the Sufis, and that their morals are the best of morals, that their path is the straightest path, in short, that the characteristics of this society are the purest in the world."

After his return to Tus, Ghazzali was busy writing books on many subjects. Fakhr ul-Mulk, the vazier of the son of Khoja Nizam ul-Mulk, asked him to go and teach in the Government School in Nishapur. He did not accept this offer at first, but was afterwards prevailed upon to do so. But he soon returned to his life of seclusion in Tus.

They say that during the time of his retirement in Tus the Muayed ul-Mulk invited him to go again and teach in Bagdad. This invitation he refused. A copy of his refusal is to be found in the *Tarikh-i-Istizhari*. The author of this history writes: "In the days of Ghazzali, the Muayed-ul-Mulk invited him to teach again in Bagdad." In answer he wrote: "Praise to God the Lord of Hosts, and prayer and homage to Mohammed and all his descendants: but afterwards, in the service of Khoja, the Safety of the World, God grant to Islam that he may live long, they invite this feeble person, from the lowly ruins of Tus, to the illustrious city of Bagdad, may God protect it. They are gracious in the distinction they offer me, but it is necessary for the humble servant to invite the Khoja from the low estate of mankind to the ever increasing exaltation of an angel. My dear friend, my remaining in Tus or my going to Bagdad is all the same in the service of God. But between the baseness of the beast and the full dignity of man there is a great distance that I have not yet passed. And I am invited to go to Bagdad. Certainly I must consider that I have very little time, and no leisure for a journey to Irak. Suppose that Ghazzali should arrive in Bagdad and immediately upon his arrival should come the summons of death, then

you would have to consider getting another professor. Why not consider that this very day is that day, and give up asking for me? And may there be peace for the one who follows the Guidance."

Sheikh Baha-ud-Din in the Kitab-i-Kashkul gives a brief account of Al-Ghazzali, and in it this correspondence with the Nizam-ul-Mulk is mentioned:

"Hujjat ul-Islam, Abu Hamid, Mohammed Al-Ghazzali was a pupil of Imam ul-Haramain. He studied with him in Nishapur for a while, and left there, after his instructor's death, to seek a fuller knowledge of the truth. . . He spent some time in Damascus, then went to Jerusalem, and thence to Alexandria. From his travels in Syria and Egypt he returned to his native place, Tus, (the ancient capital of Khorasan) and spent his time there in retirement. His family were in the village of Ghazzali in the vicinity of Tus." One of the learned has related, "I saw Ghazzali on the desert, clothed in the robe of a dervish, with a staff and a water skin in his hands, and I said, 'Oh, Imam was not the teaching of learning in Bagdad better than this?'" And he turned upon me with a look of contempt and replied:

"Behold the full moon of good omen arising,
While the Sun sinks quickly below the horizon;
For one task completed and another begun
Is God's sovereign will for everyone.

I'm seeking to find a permanent dwelling,
I've said 'Goodbye' to the friends of yore,
And softly within my heart is telling,
Forget the place you sought before,
Give up the struggle of worldly rebelling
The heavenly home is forevermore."

After Ghazzali's retirement the Vazier Nizam-ul-Mulk wrote urging him to come to Bagdad. He refused, however, and sent the following final answer: "'In the name of God the merciful and forgiving, all have a quarter of the Heavens to which they turn them; but, wherever ye be, hasten emulously after good.' (Koran Surah 2, 143 Rodwell.) Know that in their aspirations

all mankind, whatever their form of worship, are but three groups. The first group are the common people, without learning and short-sighted. They fix their gaze on the knick-knacks of this world. The Apostle of God has condemned them by the words, 'What ravaging wolves there are among the flock of sheep, working exceeding havoc in the faith of Islam from the love of wealth and distinction.'

"The second group are less common. They are seeking for the next world, and are learned concerning the things that are good and permanent, and do good works for the sake of the future. But there is still an accusation against them by the saying of Mohammed, 'This world is forbidden to those who belong to the next world, and the next world is forbidden to those who belong to this world, and both this world and the next are forbidden to those who belong to the Most High God.'

"And the third group are the least common. They are the ones that understand that for everything there is still something higher, to which the lower must give place. And the wise do not care for less than the best. They know for a certainty that this world and the next are but part of the creation of God, and the great works for both worlds are but for the sake of reward. They know also that they have a desire for food and sensuous pleasure in common with the beasts and reptiles. So the perfect light is to be found neither in Heaven nor on the earth, and therefore the third group turn their backs on both Heaven and earth, and face towards the Creator who made them, sustains them, and rules over them. And to them is revealed the meaning of this verse, 'God is good and more permanent.' They are the ones who really understand, 'There is no other god but God,' and everyone who desires anything else than God himself, is associating with God a hidden rival. And all things that exist may be divided into two classes, God and other than God. Men weigh the two in scales. Their hearts act as the indicator on the scales, and all that they see that they de-

sire on the better side of the scales they decree to be virtues; and all that they see on the lower side of the scales they decree to be vices. And in the same way that the first group of mankind was common in comparison with the second group, and the second was common in comparison with the third, yet now we see that these three groups are really resolved into two. And for this reason I now say, that in so much as the very prince of vaziers has invited me to abandon a position that is loftiest of all, and in so much as it leads to Heaven, in order to accept a position of this world, which is the lowest of the low, in so much as it leads to Hell, and since the way towards God is the same whether from Tus or Bagdad or any other place, no places being closer than others, therefore, I make my petition to God that he will awaken my friend the Khoja from the sleep of indifference and lead him to look toward the right while it is still day, before his work passes from his hand. Peace be with you."

Al-Ghazzali therefore gave up the administrative work that brought him into prominence and esteem in connection with the Caliphate. He retired to Tus, and in his own neighborhood established a center for the propagation of the Sufi doctrine. He divided his valuable time between employments of devotion, works of self-discipline, the reading of the Word of God, public preaching and benevolence. Besides these works and attending meetings of the faithful and writing on various arts and sciences, he did nothing else.

Our worthy friend, Qutb-ud-Din Ashkuri, in "The Loved of Hearts," says that "Mohammed, son of Abdul Qasim, Tusi, who was one of the pupils of Ghazzali, relates in the 'Muhakimat' that Hujjat-ul-Islam, Abu Hamed al-Ghazzali, at the time of the Hajj had a conversation with Sayed Murtaza (other authorities say this conversation was with Da'ai Raz, the nephew of Sayed Murtaza or with Abu Ahmad, the son of Sayed Reza) and that they had a full discussion of the claims of the Sunnis and the Shiahs. Murtaza (or whoever the Shiah

representative was) answered Ghazzali with such brilliant proofs, established principles, valid demonstrations, and illuminating instances that Ghazzali gave up his former opinion. He became a believer in the Imams and is said to have spoken these words:

‘There came a friend and talked religion
And went his way:
A very old man he made a Moslem
And went his way.’ ”

And Qadi, Sayed Nur Ullah Shaheed, has added something to this story. He says, “Our friend, Sayed Hamadani, in some one of his writings in connection with the works of the Sufis, in the course of what he said about Ahmad Ghazzali (the brother of Abu Hamid) makes the statement that in the creed of his brother and in his yielding to the love for the house of the Prophet there was no ground for criticism or censure. Some of the leaders of the Shiahs had put the ban on Al-Ghazzali, but Mohammed Ibn Abu ’l-Kasim, Tusi, states that, at the time of the Hajj, Ghazzali was associated with Murtaza, and they discussed the difficulties of their two sects. The Sayed set forth the principles of the Shiah contentions with incisive proofs and clear demonstrations, so that Al-Ghazzali gave up his connection with the sect of the Sunnis and became a Shiah.” When he returned from the great city of Mecca, his brother, Ahmad Ghazzali, who was also a Sufi, met him and said, “I have heard that you have come over to the sect of the Shiahs. This is certainly a surprising thing for you to do.” Abu Hamed answered, “Indeed that I was for awhile of another sect is the more surprising to me.” And there was a discussion between the two brothers that lasted for two days. But on the third day Ahmad died suddenly of apoplexy.

They say that after Ghazzali became a Shiah, in the later part of his life, he wrote the book “The Secrets of the Two Worlds” and the claims of this sect are set forth in that book.

The grandson of Ibn Jauzi al-Bagdadi, says that

everybody was greatly influenced by his discussion of what was said to Ali on the Day of Choice, i.e. "Of everyone whose master I have been, let Ali be the master." And Omar said, "Congratulations to you, O Son of Hassan, you have indeed become my master and the master of all men and women." "This," wrote Ghazzali, "is the authority, the choice, and the decree. But after this, overcome by the enticement of the love of power, they overthrew the structure of the Caliphate and laid a foundation for themselves, consumed as they were by their own desires. They were carried away by the clatter of military banners, entangled in the crowd of horses, interested in the capture of cities in permitting this and forbidding that, and so it was that they drank the cup of their own passion and returned to their former state. And they cast him out of their sight and sold him for a poor price, —so cheaply did they sell him!"

But some are in doubt as to whether they should ascribe the *Durr-ul-'Alamin* to Ghazzali, or at least they consider the part we have mentioned to be an addition. Among the early writings of Abu Hasan Ali ibn Al-Husain al-Masoudi, the author of *Maruj-ul-Mashab* and *Ikhbar-uz-Zaman* and *Al-Wasat* and other works, a book has come to notice which is a translation of the *Durr-ul-Alamin*. It is possible that this explanation is derived from this source since Masoudi was of a Shiah family. The Shiah authorities claim that the *Munkaz min az-Zalal*, which was written against the claim of sinlessness for the Imams, peace be unto them, was completed before the *Durr-ul-Alamin* and the *Kashf Haqiqat-ud-Darain*. Since they also say that the *Munkaz* was written in the latter part of Ghazzali's life, his declaration that the cursing of Yazid, son of Muavia, is not permissible, must have been before his conversion Ibn Hajar in the *Sawaif* quotes Ghazzali to the effect that it is forbidden in sermons and elsewhere to relate the story of the killing of Husain, the son of Ali, and to recall the things which happened among the friends of the

Apostle of God that were of the nature of disagreement and strife, because these things are a cause of enmity and hatred and lead to ridicule and cursing.

At all events, in distinction and in learning Ghazzali was one of the greatest men in Islam. There is a tradition among the Sunnis concerning the propagation and revival of religion at the beginning of each century. According to this tradition, Mohammed said that God chooses at the beginning of each century some one to revive the faith. At the head of the fifth century, A. H., they place Al-Ghazzali.

The most highly esteemed and largest of the works of Ghazzali is the *Ihya 'Ulum-id-Din* (Revival of the Sciences of Religion.) There are also four well known books of Law, "Basit," "Wasit," "Wajiz," and "Khalasat." The *Yakut ut-Tawil*, in explanation of the *Surat ut-Tanzil*, was written in forty volumes, concerning the authority of the one who had access to the heavens. There are five commentaries, six books on metaphysics, seven books on dogmatic theology, eight books concerning wisdom and culture, nine books of tradition, and ten books on miscellaneous subjects. The author of the *Athar ul-Balad* says, "They say that they arranged the writings of Abu Hamid so as to have an appropriate part for every day in the year."

Finally, on Monday, the 14th of the month Jamadi the Second, in the year 505 A.H., in the town of Tabaran, Al-Ghazzali left this fleeting world. He was buried within sight of Tabaran.

They said that when the news of his death reached Imam Ismael Hakimi he quoted appropriately these verses from the famous poem of Abu Tamam:

"Shall I be calm while he lies cold,
The blood I weep, can he behold,
The days that are gone, can I restore,
Till his death I marvelled, shall I marvel more?"

Meshed, Persia.

DWIGHT M. DONALDSON.

SACRIFICE AS PRACTICED AMONG THE SHI'AHS OF KHORASAN

I. 'ID-I-QURBAN—Wealthy people are supposed to make the required pilgrimage to Mecca, and at least once in their lives keep the 'Id-i-Qurbān, or feast of Sacrifice, on the tenth day of the month Dhu 'l-Hijja at the House of God as Mohammed appointed. But the great majority of Moslems in Khorasān do not have the means to make the pilgrimage, and so they perform the rites of the sacrifice year by year in their own homes. When asked the meaning of the Feast of the Sacrifice, the reply universally given is that it is in memory of Abraham, who tried to offer Ishmael, his son, in sacrifice. The Patriarch several times applied the knife to the throat of his son, but the knife would not cut. Instead it fell from his hand and cut a rock that was lying on the ground. Just then Gabriel brought a sheep, which he told Abraham to offer in place of his son. When he had done this, the blood of the victim went to the sea and became red coral, the horns became amber, and the eyes pearls. The Persians think they are following the precedent set by Abraham in every detail of the sacrifice.

The night before the feast sleep is forbidden. The gates of heaven are said to be open, and it is incumbent on Mussulmans to spend the night in worship, preferably in the mosque, for the sound of their voices raised in prayer goes above like the buzzing of bees. On this night the prayer of a worthy person is sure of an answer, and the sin of a sinner is counted less. If one spends the night in prayer he will share in the merit of those who make the pilgrimage to Mecca. Some say that washing one's body is also required (*wājib*), others say that it is

merely preferable (*mustahabb*), but all agree that at the return of the Twelfth Imām it will become required. On the morning of the feast no food is to be eaten till one eats the flesh of the sacrifice.

The general rule is that there must be one animal sacrificed for every household. But if several of the members of a household are *hājjs*, then one animal must be offered by every *hājji* male or female. If the family can afford it, the merit will be greater in every case to offer one victim for every member of the family, but this is seldom done. If a group of poor people wish to club together to buy an animal, they may do so up to the number of seven, or even to seventy, according to some authorities. If a poor man says in his heart, "Would that I were able to offer a sacrifice!" he will gain the same merit as though he had offered it. It is permitted to borrow money in order to buy an animal, a tradition being brought forward to the effect that Mohammed gave his wife Umm Salma permission to borrow for this purpose. If an animal cannot be found, its price in money may be given to the poor. There is a tradition that Mohammed offered two animals, one for himself and one for any believer who might not happen to have one. And so it is possible for the Mussulman to offer a special sacrifice for Mohammed, or for a friend or member of the family who has died. In this case the merit is credited to the account of the dead person.

The victim may be a camel, sheep, cow, or goat; but in Khorasān camels are very expensive now, and it is the sheep that is almost universally chosen for the sacrifice. If a camel is chosen, it must be at least five years old, a cow or goat must be at least one year old, while a sheep must be six months or more. The female camel and cow are to be sacrificed, but if the victim be a goat or sheep it must be an unmutilated male, fat, and not too old and without a flaw. An animal that is branded or blind or lame or sick, or that has a broken horn or a split ear or a bruised hoof will not be accepted, unless no other can be

found. It is considered an abomination to sacrifice a sheep that has been raised as a pet in one's house.

In the morning or at noon on the tenth day of the month, or on the eleventh or twelfth of the month if one is prevented from sacrificing on the appointed day, the victim is brought into the house and prepared for the sacrifice. Its eyes are blackened with *sōrmeh*, and then it is made to look into a mirror, for it is said that Hagar (or Abraham) blackened Ishmael's eyes to make him beautiful for his sacrifice, and then made him look into a mirror to see his beauty. The people who offer the sacrifice also blacken their own eyes. The victim is then turned with its face toward Mecca and its feet are tied together. If it be a camel the fore feet only are bound. Water is then given the animal to drink, for it is considered inhuman that it should die thirsty. The Shī'ahs remember with horror the cruelty of the soldiers of Yazīd, who would not allow the Kerbela martyrs to go to the river for water to quench their thirst, and they say that since the Holy Family suffered from thirst, they should not allow the victim so to suffer.

Then all the members of the household stand about the victim and place their hands on its back, saying in Persian, "We have a share in the blood of the sacrifice, may God accept it!" The one who kills the sacrifice should be the head of the house, a male fifteen years of age or older, a Mussulman, who is able to repeat at least the following formula in Arabic: "In the name of God, for the sake of God, in the way of God, according to the tradition of Abraham, the friend of God." If he is able, he adds the following Arabic prayer which Abraham is said to have repeated at the sacrifice of Ishmael: "I have turned my face toward the place of God in the name of him who created the heavens and the earth, since I am a Mussulman and not one of those who attribute a partner to God. In truth my prayer and works and living and dying are for God, who is the provider for both worlds. He has no partner, and to this act of sacrifice I am com-

manded by God, and I am one of the Moslems. O God, this sacrifice is from Thee and for Thee. I begin in the name of God who is great [at this point the victim is killed]. Accept this sacrifice from me."

A camel is killed by being stabbed on the right side of the neck just in front of the shoulder, but the throat of a sheep must be cut. The knife used must be made of steel or iron, any other metal being forbidden. The blood is sometimes smeared on the finger nails to prevent the skin from cracking, and is put as a medicine on the forehead and nose and roof of the mouth of children who have colds. Some say that this is done as a sign of one's purpose to sacrifice the following year. The blood must be washed off before prayers. The skin of the victim may be used for a prayer rug, or for an upper garment by a very religious man, but it must in no case be defiled. The flesh is to be divided into three parts, one of which is to be eaten by the people who offer the sacrifice, a second part is sent as a present to one's neighbors, and the rest is to be given to the poor. But one may gain greater merit by giving all to the poor. If a man from without is called in to kill the sacrifice, he should be repaid with money, not with the flesh of the sacrifice, unless he be a poor man.

Some years ago it was customary for a camel to be decorated and led about the streets of the city, after which it was taken to the place of sacrifice outside the city walls. A prince would take his seat on a platform near by, and a great crowd would gather about the camel. At a given signal they would set upon the poor victim with knives, and the man who could first bring its head or tail or foot to the prince was given a sum of money. This barbarous custom has now been discontinued.

Various answers are given when the Persians are questioned as to the purpose of the Feast of Sacrifice. Usually they say that it is to commemorate the offering of Ishmael, and as such is a work of merit. Thus, if one should keep all the flesh of the sacrifice for himself, sending none of it to the poor, still as a memorial of Abraham

it has a numerical value of ten in the "good works" account. But if he gives one third of it to the poor, it will count one hundred to his credit. It is also said that on the day of resurrection the animal will appear "with its horns, hair and hoofs," and will carry the one who sacrificed it on its back across the Bridge (Sīrāt) over Hell to Paradise. But the more immediate benefit derived from the sacrifice is that it protects the household that offers it from sickness and misfortune during the coming year. For this result to be obtained, at least one-third of the flesh must be given to the poor. Some say that it is the prayers of the poor who receive the flesh that protect one from evil. Others seem to think that the sacrifice is vicarious, the victim suffering in place of the offerer, and God is thus influenced not to send misfortune and sickness. But one thing is clear, the sacrifice has no reference in the minds of the people to sin. It is considered only as a work of merit and as a preventive against physical evil.

II. SACRIFICE FOR THE SICK—When medicine and prayers have failed to cure a sick person, frequently a sacrifice is offered as a last resort. The victim is always a sheep, preferably a black one. It is brought into the room, and is led three times around the sick person, an omen of good being eagerly looked for all the while. Then it is taken out, and its throat is cut in a place that has no roof over it. Before it is killed, the following Arabic prayer is spoken into its mouth: "O my God, in truth this sheep is for Thee, and is of Thy favor and Thy mercy, and it has become mine, and I have substituted this sheep for Thy servant ———, son of ———. O my God, this sheep is his substitute, its flesh for his flesh, its blood for his blood. Now accept the sheep from me as Thou didst accept it from Thy friend, Abraham, when he offered a substitute in place of his son Ishmael. For the honor of Mohammed! O my God, truly for Thee I have made the substitution of this sheep. Now accept it from me. God is Great!" Or this simpler formula may be

used: "O God, this sacrifice is in place of the sick man, accept it and heal him."

The blood and excrements are buried in the ground, that people may not walk over them. The skin must not be cut loose from the feet, for skin and feet must be one piece, and the entrails must be one piece. The flesh is to be cut into fifty-seven pieces and put into the skin. The pieces are then taken out one at a time, the name of some poor person is called, and the piece is handed to him. None of the flesh of this sacrifice is to be eaten by the family of the sick, all is to be given away. The sacrifice is usually called *Sadaqa*.

III. SACRIFICE FOR A CHILD.—When a child is three years old, or younger, if the parents so desire, a sheep is frequently sacrificed to insure its continued life and health. This is done more often for a boy than for a girl. The prayer used is the following: "O God, I give this sheep in place of my child, accept it flesh for flesh, blood for blood, bones for bones, life for life." None of the victim's bones must be broken, but they are to be buried as a substitute for the bones of the child. None of the flesh may be eaten by the parents of the child, but one-third of it may be eaten by other members of the household, and two-thirds are to be given to the poor. The vicarious character of the sacrifices for the sick and for children is very clearly marked in the thought of the people, though it is also said that the blessing is due to the prayers of the poor who eat the meat.

Sistan, Persia.

WM. MCE. MILLER.

KARAMAT

All books containing accounts of the lives of Moslem Saints, after giving an account of their "*Silsila*" or the chain of saintly teachers from whom they derive their "*Gnosis*" (knowledge), give very considerable space to what they term, the Saints' *Karāmāt*. This word, literally translated, means Honours, and signifies in this sense the Honours that God has put upon the Saint. They nearly always mean either miraculous powers, or supernatural insight. A few examples translated from the life of Abu Hasan el-Shadhali will help the reader to understand these *Karāmāt*. These examples are just a few picked from a vast number more with a view to showing the great variety of *Karāmāt* held by one man.¹

On one of the early journeys of Abu Hasan el-Shadhali, towards the village of Shadhala, from whence he obtained his cognomen, he met, at some considerable distance from their destination, a woodcutter of his own townfolk. They commenced to journey together, but the woodcutter, after they had travelled a little distance, remembered that he had left something behind in the market-place. So, leaving his donkey, he started back, when he suddenly remembered that the Sheikh to him was a stranger, and he feared that he might run off with the donkey. As he was turning these thoughts over in his mind, the Sheikh called to him saying, "Oh my son, take the donkey with you lest it be run away with, and lest you be left without it then as you are imagining." The woodcutter wept, and said, "By God! none has revealed this unto you but God," and he realized that the Sheikh was one of the *Aulia* (saints) and commenced kissing his hands and his feet, and petitioning for a place in his prayers.

When he had returned from the market-place, he insisted that the Sheikh should ride upon his donkey; the

¹The El-Shadhali sect of Dervishes is the one most favored by students of the Azhar.

Sheikh consented on condition that the woodcutter mount up behind him. The woodcutter was astounded that the donkey permitted this, knowing that he was only partially trained and had never permitted anybody to ride up behind him before, but, not only so, he discovered that they travelled within a mile of Shadhala in an incredibly short time. At this distance from Shadhala, the Sheikh dismounted, and the woodcutter realising the big honours God had placed upon the Sheikh, told him of his poverty and his destitution. He had wrapped up in the corner of his mantle some oats that he had bought as food for his family and the donkey. The Sheikh said, "Bring me these oats." When the woodcutter had done so, he put his hand in amongst the oats, and said to him, "Put these oats into a basket and lock it up, and whenever you need food put in your hand and take what you want, and never again complain of destitution: I petition God that he enrich thee and enrich thy seed."

The writer of this account says that there never was seen a poor man of the woodcutter's seed unto the time of writing; then he goes on to say that the woodcutter followed the injunctions of the Sheikh for some time, and truly found that the oats continued inexhaustible, but he thought that he would multiply them, and so ploughed a piece of ground with his donkey, took some of the oats and sowed them, and had a considerable fight with misfortune. When he winnowed the oats and measured them, he found that the quantity remained just as before. He confessed his fault to the Sheikh, who told him that if he had not so strenuously sought to increase his store, it would have still remained with him as before.

Sheikh Abu Mohammed Abdullah ibn Salâma el-Habîbî, who was one of the first to associate himself with el-Shadhali, relates some of the experiences that he had with him on the mountain of Z'afarân whilst the Sheikh was repeating Sura el-An'âm, but having repeated the words "and could it compensate with fullest compensation it is not to be accepted of it," the mountain swayed

in unison with the swaying of his body, and stopped when he stopped.

At another time, he said, "I stopped with him on Jabal Z'afarân forty days, eating herbs and the leaves of laurel until the sides of my mouth were covered with ulcers, and he said to me, 'Oh Abdullah, it appears you long for food,' and I said to him, 'Oh my master, my looking to thee makes me independent of it.' He said, 'Tomorrow, if God will,' and descended from the mountain toward Shadhala. We encountered a 'Karama' in the way as we went.

As we were traversing a plain, the Sheikh said to me, "Oh Abdullah, if I go out of the way, do not follow me"; and when he had said this there fell on him a great *Hâl* (a psychic condition or state,) and he departed from the way until he was far from me. Then I saw four birds about the size of a pigeon, which descended from Heaven and settled upon his head in a row. Then each in turn came and spoke to him. Then I saw birds with them, about the size of hawks, surrounding him from the ground to the sky and flying around him. Then they disappeared and he returned to me, and said, "Oh Abdullah, hast thou seen anything?" I said, "Yes," and I told him what I had seen. Then he said to me, "The four birds were angels from the fourth Heaven coming down to ask me a question of learning (*gnosis?*), and I answered them." He continued, "The small birds were the spirits of the saints who came to listen for their own benefit."

When staying at Tunis, a Sheikh called Ibn el-Bara' was bitterly antagonistic to him. It is recorded that Sheikh Abu Hasan was overheard praying that a curse might fall upon him at Arafât (a mountain near Mecca). This was in the hearing of many people. The account goes on to show how the curse was fulfilled in detail. It is related how Ibn el-Bara' stirred up the populace of Tunis against the Sheikh. His house was surrounded, and he was in considerable danger. His friends pleaded with him to make his escape, but he refused, and said that but for his reverence for the Sharîa' he could escape from

"here and from there," indicating as he said this different walls which opened from top to bottom as he indicated them.

When he left Tunis on his way to Mecca, the Sultan of Tunis sent after him, pleading that he should come back, fearing that he was leaving on account of the hostility of Ibn el-Bara', and because of various acts of antagonism which Ibn el-Bara' had induced the Sultan to show towards El-Shadhali. El-Shadhali sent back word to him that he was leaving for none of these things, but only on pilgrimage, and God willing he would return once more to Tunis.

Ibn el-Bara' had sent a written statement to the Sultan of Egypt telling him of the approach of the Sheikh, that he had corrupted Tunis, and would also corrupt Egypt. So on the arrival of the Sheikh and his following at Alexandria, they found themselves confined in that city by order of the Sultan, without any reason being given. At this particular time, the Sultan had levied a tax on some Sheikhs of a village called el-Qaba'l. When this Sultan heard of the arrival of Shadhali, they came to ask the benefit of his prayers. He promised to go to Cairo and petition the Sultan on their behalf.

The story then goes on to relate how they went through the Bab Sidra (gate) without being seen, though there was stationed there a Government Post, which vigorously searched all who went in and out.

When they arrived at the citadel of Cairo and entered the palace of the Sultan, he refused to hear the petition on behalf of the people at el-Qaba'l, saying the Sheikh had need to petition on behalf of himself, and showed him Ibn el-Bara's communication. The Sheikh briefly replied that he, the Sultan, and Ibn el-Bara' were in God's hand and left the presence. Immediately after he left, the judges asked a question of the Sultan, but he made no sign. They shook him, and he was as dead. In great haste they went after the Sheikh, and humbly besought him to return. He returned and shook the Sultan with

his blessed hand, and he was restored and descended from the throne, humbled himself to the Sheikh, gave him all his requests, and made him come to the citadel as his guest. Here he remained until he continued his pilgrimage to Mecca, and it is said that Egypt was moved by his presence.

At one time the inhabitants of Alexandria had risen up against the Sultan, and he was besieging that town, and would not spare an armed escort for the Mahmal. The Qâdi therefore refused to let the caravan of pilgrims go. Abu Hasan rebuked him, and said that all that was wanted was that one of the saints of God should accompany the caravan, and he undertook this responsibility. The pilgrims were marvelously protected from all the dangers of the way; if brigands attacked them by night, they encountered unscalable walls in every direction, and many other instances of their supernatural protection are given.

The Qâdi met the returning pilgrims at Birket-el-Hajj, and confessed his lack of faith, and made his submission to Abu Hasan and took him for his spiritual director.

Perhaps the most wonderful tales of the Sheikh are told by Abu A'zâim Mâdi, whose connection with the Sheikh seems very similar to that which Abu Huraira bore to Mohammed. After a wonderful deliverance at the hand of Abu Hasan, the doubt flashed through his mind as to the ability of the Sheikh to protect when he was not present. Very shortly after that, he was on the beach near Alexandria, and fell into a dreadful temptation, and was only delivered in the nick of time by the Sheikh taking him by the scruff of the neck. When he had gathered himself together from this violent handling, neither the source of his temptation nor the Sheikh were anywhere to be seen. After a few hours he repaired to the presence of the Sheikh, who greeted him with the question whether he now believed that he could protect

though absent, and declared that a Sheikh who could not do that was not worthy of being a Sheikh.

Many are his stories of journeys made in incredible time, accompanied by angel guards whose marching startled him, of miraculous supplies, temporary wells and shady trees when journeying through the desert on commissions for the Sheikh, of deliverance from the inhabitants of Mecca who set upon the remaining pilgrims in the Masjid-el-Haram, of the bodily appearance of the Sheikh, though all the time he was in Alexandria. Such accounts though they do not read to us so much like history as the accounts given by other eye-witnesses, yet help us to understand what are the popular beliefs as to the saints.

A further interesting story is told by Abu Abbas el-Mursi in that it reveals supernatural methods of mystical Koran interpretations. It is also interesting in the fact that El-Mursi was the Sheikh's favourite pupil and closest friend, and the mosque at Alexandria, which holds for that city much the same position as the Al-Azhar does for Cairo, was built in honour of him, and a very great number of Moslems received the name "El-Mursi" from him, the word originally meaning that he originated from some African seaport that bore the name of "the harbour." In relating this incident he says he was one day praying behind Sheikh Abu Hasan el-Shadhali, who was repeating Surat el-Shūrā, and when he came to the verses, "And he giveth us daughters to whom He will, and sons to whom He will: or he giveth them children of both sexes, and He maketh whom He will to be childless." I then apprehended somewhat of its meaning, and when the Sheikh had finished his prayer and made the salutation, he turned to me and said, "Oh Abbas el-Mursi, He giveth thee daughters, that is forms of worship and good works, and sons to whom He will, that is states (psychical) '*gnosis*' and spiritual ranks, or He giveth them children of both sexes, that is He combines these in those of His servants according as He wills, and He maketh whom he

will to be childless—that is, He makes them to have neither '*gnosis*' nor works." At this I marveled, so the Sheikh said, "By God, of a surety, there does not happen anything in the inner consciousness of anyone that God does not reveal to me in that prayer or another."

A touching story is told of the Sheikh's family sorrows. One day Abu A'zâim Mâdi found the Sheikh's son, Ali, drunk, and brought him home and gave him a thrashing. A mad passion took hold of the lad, and he pulled out the strings of his mother's hair (which every Moslem woman plaits in with her hair), and then left the house. When the Sheikh came home, he found her crying, and asked the reason. She told him, but suppressed the fact of his drunkenness. The Sheikh went away into his *Zâwiya* (his private chapel), and some considerable time after called Mâdi to him, and asked him, "Did you do so-and-so?" Then Mâdi told him of the drunkenness and said that if he had not been a connection of the Sheikh's he would have beaten him to the limit laid down for such a sin in the Shari'a Law. The Sheikh's face took on another expression, and he retired once more into his *Zâwiya* for over an hour, then he called Mâdi again, and said that he had desired to call down a punishment upon his son, but that God had forbidden him, and told him to wait and see what He had predestined for him.

It was shortly after this that the lad went off on his travels, and they heard some time after from Morocco of his recognition as a *Wali* (Saint). It is this son whose tomb has until quite recently made it impossible for the authorities to build a good road from the main station at Cairo to the Sharia Kamal, where all the principal hotels are located.

Zeitoun, Egypt.

GEORGE SWAN.

NUBIAN SOCIAL CUSTOMS

(A HUMAN DOCUMENT)

In the large towns of northern Egypt there are a great many house-servants, door-keepers, cab-drivers, etc., who do not belong to the ordinary Arab tribes. They are of a chocolate brown colour and their dress and habits are somewhat cleaner than that of the Egyptian fellah. They speak a language of their own, which no one understands but themselves. If you ask them to what people they belong, they at once will answer: "*ana Berberi*," which means, "I am a Nubian;" and to the question "where do you come from?" they will return, "*min al kunouz*," i.e. "from the land of gold mines." The Nubian people until recently were very little known to Americans and Europeans, except through servants seen in the better houses, throughout Egypt. It was my privilege to work as a medical missionary for nine years (1906-1915) in Assuan and the northern parts of Nubia. We learned the Berber language, and soon found access to the houses and hearts of this queer and interesting people.

We may not be far mistaken in saying that no other white man ever did get such insight into the houses, lives and habits of the Nubians as we did, my wife and I. So I will try to give some account of the peculiarities of these Nubians so often seen in Cairo and elsewhere, and about whom so little is known. I can do so best by describing the life of one of these Berberi servants, assuring our readers that what we say about him is absolutely typical of the life and habits of these Nubians generally. Abd-al-mejid was a cousin to our own servant Abdou. The latter was with us for eight years, with great interest learning from us the Bible stories and Christian doctrine, and in return telling us whatever we wished to know about his people, the Nubians, and helping us also in learning the language and introducing us into many houses and villages.

In May, 1915, his cousin Abd-al-mejid died in Alexandria, where he had been a servant in a bank. Abdou, our cook, therefore had to go to Dabod, his native village, in order to celebrate the funeral there with all the relatives and friends. When he came back, he told us much about the habits of such funeral gatherings of the Nubians. Then I asked him about the life of a typical Berberi, and he gave me a detailed and careful account of his cousin Abd-al-mejid's life and death.

When they both were twelve years of age, they were taken along with some relatives to Alexandria, where they soon found work as errand and kitchen boys. In the year 1905 the two cousins came back to their home village, Dabod, to get married. For that end each had saved about 15 £. E. and they were now "grown up, wise, big men, even eighteen to twenty years old." Abd-al-mejid was married first. With the relatives in Alexandria it was agreed that he should take for his wife his cousin, Fatima Mohammed, a girl of about thirteen years. He came to his uncle Mohammed in Dabod and told him that he wished to buy his daughter.

Uncle Mohammed answered: "Well if our people have thus agreed, I also shall be ready to give you my daughter if you are willing to pay me enough for her." Abd-al-mejid offered his uncle 5 £. E. as first investment and another 5 £. E. in reserve in case of divorce or death. At first his uncle asked more, but after some bargaining he agreed to give up his daughter, Fatima, as Abd-al-mejid also promised to buy cloth and corn. When the agreement was settled, the relatives and friends in Dabod were invited to supper. A sheep was slain and with great merriment all the people squatted around the big earthen meat pot on the ground. Abdou was also among them, and two months later he married his cousin who was twelve or thirteen years old, in the following manner:

All the men and youths crowded around the one dish in which the lamb, cut to pieces, was lying in a dark, strong sauce of pepper. Each one rolled up his wide sleeve on

his right arm and with "*bismillah*" (in the name of God) dipped his bread and his fingers into the pot. Having finished the meal, the remains were handed to the women, while the men rolled their cigarettes and drank the hot sweet coffee, handed around in small cups. Abd-al-mejid now got up and said to his uncle: "I wish to marry your daughter, Fatima." They all then shouted, "That is a good thing, by God." Then the uncle asked him, as though the thing had not been mentioned before: "Well, how much do you offer for her? I claim at least 50 £s. At once the other relatives began to bargain in favour of Abd-al-mejid. One shouts, "That is too much, you will have to take off 5 £. E. for my sake." "Well, for your sake," says the father, "may it be 45 £." "And for me another 5 £. E.," shouted the second, and the third, and so on till finally the price is fixed on 10 £. E., which is the usual amount for which a Nubian girl is sold into marriage. Abd-al-mejid at once pays his uncle and father-in-law the 5 £. E. promising to "write" the other 5 £. E. They all start to their feet, and holding their hands up, with low voices they recite "*el fatiha*" (the first *surah* of the Koran) and then go away smoking and talking. The whole business of marriage is thus settled, without asking the opinion of the women, and least of all that of the girl in question. Do you ever ask a calf whether you may sell it to the butcher? The Nubians even in the presence of their mothers, wives and sisters, speak quite naturally of the women as animals. For instance, when I greeted some women in passing a Nubian village, the men with me exclaimed in the hearing of these women, "Do you greet the women, are they not all devils and sheep?" So the girl Fatima was sold, although her would-be bridegroom had not spoken a single word to her since he had returned from Alexandria. The morning after the little celebration of the men, two small groups of people left the village; some of the men went southward to find the *maïssoun*, while Abd-al-mejid, together with his mother and sister, went to Assuan to buy the wedding presents for the bride,

and the necessary outfittings for their new household. The *maūsoun* is the civil official, who writes and signs the contracts for marriage, divorce and inheritance. He writes out two papers, one for Abd-al-mejid and the other for the relatives of his wife. It is a statement that the marriage was agreed upon for 10 £. E. and that half of it was paid as *muttakaddim* and that the other half is to be paid as *mutta'akhir* to the wife of her relatives in case of divorce or death of the husband. Both papers are signed by the witnesses of both families. Whoever can write signs his name, those who cannot write usually carry with their bundle of amulets a small seal of brass with their initials and besmear it with ink for signing the paper, but if some one does not possess such a seal, his name is written by the *maūsoun* and the witness dips his right thumb into the inkpot and presses it on the paper.

The outfit, which Abd-al-mejid buys in Assuan with the help of his mother and sister for the sum of four or six pounds, consists of four sacks of corn, a couple of sheep, some clothes for the bride and ornaments.

The Nubian women all wear the following jewels: A small golden ring on the forehead; a large gilt ring in the right side of the nose, so large that it hangs almost down to the chin, and needs to be held up during meals; three or four thick earrings of silver in the rim of each ear; a string round the neck with two long silver pieces in the middle; a string of glass pearls of many colours, dangling down to the waist; a similar string with silver and gold pieces around the waist; a bracelet two inches broad and a second one thin and round on each wrist; on almost every finger some rings, of which many are flat, others round, others with notches and many figures; and on each ankle a big round bracelet, hollow inside, generally of silver. It takes fourteen days for all these preparations for the wedding to be completed, and now the day of the wedding is to be chosen. The superstition of the people makes it difficult to find a lucky day, and so the sheikhs are asked their opinion. On the day chosen a sheep is

slain, both in the house of the bridegroom and in the house of the bride, so that there are two meals on the one wedding day. Abd-al-mejid, the bridegroom, goes himself from house to house inviting the people to that feast. About sixty men and forty women accept the invitation of Abd-al-mejid, and at 4 o'clock p. m., they all gather round about the house of the bridegroom. Laughing and chatting the men are seated on the forms and beds, covered with Oriental carpets, while the women are squatting in a corner on the ground, all talking at once and telling for the tenth and hundredth time how much was paid for each of them, and what sort of clothes and ornaments they each had received for wedding presents. But where did the men get the beautiful carpets on which they are seated, did they buy or steal them? Please don't ask! They tell their stories how they managed to deceive the yellow faces, (thereby meaning the Europeans, especially the fair-haired English.) Wild laughter follows each new story. Hush! now the dinner is brought and served first to the men. Big, brown earthenware pots are placed on the ground, they cut bread in heaps into them, while from another bowl a black sauce of meat and pepper is poured on the bread. Round each dish about a dozen men are squatting who dip in their right hand after having rolled up the sleeves. From a big basket pieces of meat from the slaughtered sheep are handed to each guest. With a great deal of noise and smacking of lips and tongues they eat the meal, and to quench their thirst they pass from mouth to mouth the water-bottle. For dessert they get some melon. Dinner finished, they utter their satisfaction by belching. The women now get the remnants of the feast, while one of the men begins slowly and softly to beat the *tarabuka* (a peculiar drum, made of earthen ware and leather). When they have sipped the hot coffee, the men start singing. Their songs generally are of a low character, becoming louder and wilder, and the drum is beaten with more energy, others clapping their hands, while the women shout with peculiar high trilling of the voice.

Near sunset, the mother and sister of Abd-al-mejid come out of the house, carrying between them a long round staff of wood, on which the new clothes for the bride are hung. They also bring with them a large tray of many coloured basket work on which are rings and bracelets.

Almost all the guests get something to carry—cushions, carpets, covers, some household furniture and victuals. Likewise the clothes of Abd-al-mejid, old and new, are carried along suspended on a long wooden stick. Singing and shouting the procession moves along from the house of the bridegroom's parents to the next village, where the bride is staying, about a mile away. There once more dinner is served, exactly the same as at the first place. The bridegroom now can take his share, whereas at home he had to help in serving. When this second dinner is all eaten, and they have licked their fingers, they once more start beating the drum, singing and shouting. But here they add dancing. First of all a young fellow gets up, and hops about to the rhythm of the drumming. Then one or two of the girls and women come forward, making similar peculiar movements with their bodies and limbs. More and more of the youths and girls come forward into the circle. They dance to and fro and round each other without touching one another. Some boys place empty bottles on the ground, beating them with wooden sticks. Thus the noise gets louder and wilder, the shrieks become furious. This all takes place on the open space outside of the door of the house in which meanwhile the bride is getting dressed. You will ask whether she has any part in the doings and whether she is very happy and joyful on her wedding day. Alas, no, the whole day she has been trembling with fear, has been weeping and trying to hide away, for she anticipates terrible tortures. The Nubians, and more especially their women, have the habit of discussing and talking about sexual matters without any shame in the presence of their children; indeed it is a subject of daily conversation, so we need not wonder that the little bride Fatima Mohammed, thirteen years old,

shows no pleasure in her marriage and not even new dresses and the glittering rings could arouse her interest. Before the women proceed to garb her with the bridal attire, they smear her whole body with cow's fat and over her new *galabia*, (upper dress) they hang many strings of glass pearls, etc.

About 11 o'clock at night the decoration of the bride is completed. Some women, among them the midwife of the village, surround the girl, trembling with fear. They try to encourage her by shouting many wishes and congratulations. Then Abd-al-mejid is given a sign to come inside. Out of doors there is suddenly a short interval in the dancing, singing and shouting. But when the door has been shut on the back of Abd-al-mejid, the noise sets in again in double measure, this time for the purpose of drowning the screaming and wailing of the poor girl in her torture. To describe exactly what now goes on is impossible, although I, as a physician, know and have seen the terrible consequences of the bridal nights among the Nubians. The Nubian girls are all subjected to circumcision at the age of four or five, when by crude surgery they are so mutilated that after long suffering and healing, at last there remains but a small opening merely sufficient for an ordinary pencil to pass. Now when the girl is married, the bridegroom under instruction and with the help of the midwife tears the parts with great force and violence. Several women are necessary to hold fast the struggling girl, and when they cannot succeed in keeping her mouth firmly shut, her screaming and crying are heard outside. Therefore the father sometimes comes to the door, knocking with his fists and his stick, to deliver his daughter from further tortures. When the women and the midwife think that for the first night it might be enough, they carry away the poor girl fainting. Finally they all go to sleep, some on the benches and straw mats, others on the bare ground. In the morning each one takes a cup of hot tea, when they disperse and the devil rejoices over the misery and agony due to the

cruel custom of "*infibulation*" (the complete circumcision of girls.) The trial is not finished by that first night, for during a whole week, many times, night and day, the violent manual operation is repeated by the bridegroom with the help of some of the grown-up women, who all have had to pass through the same experience. The bridegroom too has to smear himself each day with cow's fat from head to foot and during the first week he is such an ugly sight and has such a disgusting smell about him, that he is not suffered to sit with the other men of the village. When I once saw such a disgusting youth, I asked the people: "What about that dirty fellow?" They laughingly answered: "He is a bridegroom." The Nubians themselves know what they suffer from this most unnatural custom of theirs, but no one dares to stand up first against it. Abd-al-mejid remained with his young wife during three months. Then he returned to Alexandria, leaving her with her parents. After that he never saw his home again. He was an errand-boy in a bank, and remained in Alexandria during eight years, although he had two months holidays every year and could have had longer furlough, but he did not desire to come back to his young wife and relations in Dabod, but rather preferred to wander about in Alexandria and Cairo in public houses, following the example of hundreds of young Nubians. His wages were £3 a month. Through the hand of our servant, Abdou, he sent his wife 60 Piasters, i.e. one-fifth of his salary every month. The bank supplied him with all his clothes and he had a room of his own, free of charge. Thus he spent four-fifths of his income for food, tobacco and pleasures.

And why did Abd-al-mejid not take his wife with him, why do most of the Nubian servants in the big towns of lower Egypt leave their wives behind? First of all, they wish to have ample freedom for a careless, immoral life, but woe to the girl or woman who would fall into the same sin of adultery. The men consider it as a matter of course and they talk about it in the presence of the women

and children in a shameless way, but a woman when found guilty is deemed worthy of death. The second reason is that whenever a Nubian takes his wife with him to Cairo or Alexandria, he needs to keep house, and his lodging swarms with all the many Nubians of his neighborhood, the Oriental hospitality being such that every one makes ample use of it, especially those that are without employment. In order to save and be free, therefore, they leave their wives behind in the native villages. The respectable ones return to their homes whenever they get their summer holidays, whereas the loose ones prefer to spend their free time in bad company, among them Abd-al-mejid.

About seven years after the wedding, Fatima, Abd-al-mejid's wife came to our kitchen in order to talk to Abdou our servant. She asked him to write to her husband to ask whether he never thinks of coming back to her. "All my neighbours and former playmates have children and I alone go without!" Our servant then wrote to his cousin and got his answer thus: "If my wife wishes to come here and join me, you may give her the necessary money for the journey and she may come." After this rather uncordial invitation, Fatima traveled down to Alexandria, but five months later Abd-al-mejid sent her back to Dabod where she was to wait for the birth of her first child. He did not wish to be bothered by it. Of course, they little thought that they would never see each other again, but whatever it might be, the bond of love was very weak.

In March, 1915, Abd-al-mejid fell ill, and had to ask for leave from his work. He passed a month or so with some friends and relatives in Cairo, but never went to see a doctor for his illness. Then he came back to his work more miserable than he had gone. All April he was dragging himself through his work under pain and weakness. He then went to consult a Sheikh, who for the cure of his illness read a few chapters from the Koran over him and wrote some verses on a piece of paper, which he then folded and sewed in a bag of leather; it was then tied as

an amulet to the arm of the sick man. He did not get better, and had to repeat the same treatment with a few other Sheikhs, with the result that the strength of Abd-al-mejid as well as his purse grew less. A Sheikh told him that an evil spirit had taken hold of him because of the envious evil eye of some other person, and that the demon must be driven out by a *Zaar*, i.e., a well known habit and ceremonial of the natives for casting out devils.¹ When it was much too late, they called in a doctor. The physician could do nothing but regret that he was not called sooner, and had to announce that death was very near. The relatives in Nubia, his wife, mother and sister had not even heard that Abd-al-mejid was ill. In the middle of April, Fatima gave birth to a son, but Abd-al-mejid did not know of it. There would be much to write should I describe the terrible suffering of these poor Nubian women in the days when they have their first child. Many indeed die because of the cruel custom spoken of, or because of the dirty work of the midwife. Fatima, however, came through all danger and had the joy of a son. Abd-al-mejid probably did not get the news of this event, as the correspondence between husband and wife among Nubians is meagre.

In the room where Abd-al-mejid was lying so ill, a great number of Nubians had gathered, awaiting the end of their friend, passing the time in idle gossip. When the sign of imminent death became clear, suddenly all those present burst out in horrible howling. All this noise in order to show the dying one how much he was loved. Abd-al-mejid's brother shouted into his ear the Moslem confession: "*La ilaha illa 'llah wa Mohammed rasulu 'llah!*" The others holding their hips, wandered to and fro shouting at the top of their voices: "*Amr Allah, ya akhuya*" ("it is the will of God, my brother.") The bank in which Abd-al-mejid had been a servant, gave the "*kaffan*," the white cloth in which the body of the dead is wrapped, and also the expenses of burial were paid, as

¹See chapter on the Zar in Zwemer's "*Animism in Islam*."

well as the coffee and cigarettes for the mourning party which gathered the following days. During a whole week, every evening until 11 o'clock, Abd-al-mejid's relatives and friends had their "*Hassiras*," i.e. round about the house where he died and on both sides of the street, they put long rows of forms and benches. The relatives remain there the whole time, whereas friends and neighbours come and go. Every one of the latter takes his seat with the others for some hours, drinking coffee and smoking cigarettes, both handed round freely. There are also present two blind "*faqis*," who take turns in singing and reciting the Koran. A funeral costs a great deal of money. At once after Abd-al-mejid had died, one of the Nubians went to wire the news to our cook, Abdou. As the latter had not heard before of the illness of his cousin, he would not believe it until he had inquired once more, by sending a telegram to Abd-al-mejid's brother. He then begged for three days' leave, which we granted him, for going to his village Dabod, where he had to bring the sad news to all the relatives there. He bought some coffee and cigarettes for the mourning celebration in Dabod. When he told his wife and blind mother-in-law, to leave with him at once for Dabod, on account of the death of Abd-al-mejid, the two women began such screaming and tossing dust into the air that the people of Gabal-togog, his village, gathered round them and, hearing the news, helped them in their wailing. A good many people came with them, traveling up the Nile on a sailing boat. At five o'clock p.m., they arrived near Dabod, and shortly before they landed, all the company again started wailing and crying at the top of their voices, so that all the inhabitants of the village ran to the shore asking for the reason of their behaviour. The news being told, the mother and sister of Abd-al-mejid at once jumped headlong into the water, as if intending suicide. The boat had almost reached the shore and Abdou with another man stepped out into the water, catching the two women by their clothes, dragging them up to the shore.

Abd-al-mejid's wife still was lying in her hut, not having fully recovered from child-birth. When she heard the sad news she threw up dust, covering herself and her baby with it, shouting like a mad woman. In the whole village they started howling and dancing and the people from both sides of the Nile gathered in great numbers. It would take too long to describe more fully the customs and habits that are seen in such a gathering. May it suffice to say that more strength is spent to show their exaggerated despair over the loss of a relative than their love to the living.

Heinrichsbad, Switzerland. W. G. FRÖLICH, M.D.

BOOK REVIEWS

Un poète arabe d'Andalousie. Ibn Zaidoun Étude d'après le diwan de ce poète et les principales sources arabes, par Auguste Cour, professeur à la chaire publique d'Arabe de Constantine. 1920, Imprimerie Boet, Constantine, Algeria.

This study is the thesis for the degree of Doctor of Literature presented by the author at the Faculté des Lettres (Arts) of the University of Algiers. It is composed of an Introduction, a Bibliography and three chief divisions—The Life of the Poet, The Diwan of the Poet and Text of the Poems Translated. In all a work of 231 pages. The translations of the different poems are given as the circumstances to which they relate are recorded in the "Life of the Poet." This accords with the object that the author has in view as stated in the opening words of the Introduction. "This study on the life and work of Abu'l Walid Ahmed bin Zaidun has not for its object the study of a poet simply because of his celebrity. I have tried to see what we can draw from it towards a knowledge of his literary environment and of his times.

"The Arabic literature of Spain, in the fifth century after the Hegira, marks, according to the opinion of learned Orientals and of many European scholars, the culminating point of the Arabic literary cycle. The Andalusian literature, according to this opinion, was the continuation and the development of the brilliant literary traditions of the courts of Damascus and of Bagdad, and Ibn Zaidoun is considered to be the most perfect of the poets of this Occidental revival of Arabic letters. He has been named the Tibullus of Andalusia. In the opinion of Arab *littérateurs* and European Orientalists he passes for the greatest poet of his time and the last among his tribesmen."

Some of the questions which this work tries to consider are the following: Where did this poet find the sources of his inspiration? What does he owe to his predecessors? What have their traditions become in his hands? What has been his share of influence on Arabic literature after him? What was the effect of the *milieu* upon the Oriental poetry transplanted into the West in Andalusia? Does Ibn Zaidun, taken as a typical poet, owe anything to the physical and social environment of Southern Spain of his time? On the eve of the Almoravide invasion was the classical or neo-classical Arabic literature of Spain rooted in that country sufficiently deep and strong so as to stand against the Berber whirlwinds, the struggle of races, the religious conflicts, and to develop in the midst of heterogenous populations by its own means?

In the second part of the work the author, after having followed in detail the life of the poet, studied in connection with his poetical productions, gives the following reason: "It seemed to us that the character of his poetry, varied with the diverse situations occupied by him, showing him first of all as a cultivated mind and a poet of love, then as a poetical letter-writer during his adventures and his tribulations, finally as a court poet. These are the three aspects of his talent. Without an ample biography it would be difficult to understand them. His diverse poems, born of his circumstances, have shown us that the source of his

inspiration is to be found in the society in which he lived. It was conditioned by his surroundings, first, because of his amorous passion, then by reason of the customs of Oriental life introduced into Spain by the first Arab conquerors, and the customs of the courts of the Omeiad Emirs, and finally by reason of the old traditions on the role of verse and its importance in the internal politics of the tribes."

"The sources of his inspiration are to be found in the Arab life of Andalusia of his time. But the comparisons, the figures, and even the form of his poems are to be found in the former Arab poets."

"Ibn Zaidun, imitator of the Arab poets, his predecessors, was therefore a neo-classic. We admit with the Oriental critics that he merits to be considered as the most illustrious of this school, although he was almost the last."

As to his vocabulary he has kept within the bounds of the vocabulary of the Oriental poets who preceded him, differing in this from some of the Andalusian poets, who have used words or expressions found in the spoken Arabic of the present day.

The text followed is that of MSS. No. 18687 of the Sultania Library in Cairo, written by Abd-er-Rahman bin Abd-Allah al-Hosaini al-Bagdadi, finished 17 Jumada II 1288 A. H. (4 Sept. 1871 A. D.) A copy of this MS. was made for this work by Mahmud Hamdi, terminated 30 Dhu'l-Hijja 1328 A. H. (1 Jan. 1911 A. D.)

The study is well furnished with footnotes and references. The author appears to have fully attained the end aimed at. Speaking of the questions on the poet and his work mentioned above, he says: "Such are the questions we have set to ourselves, with regard to this poet, about whom we have endeavored to unite all the biographical notices still existing. But far from us the thought that the object of this present study can furnish by itself a sufficient answer to these questions. Bearing on a single poet, however great he may be, this study can only be a contribution towards researches of a more general character. Our object has only been to bring to these researches a modest part."

This notice has not touched the contents of the Diwan itself. The study of M. Cour will be a good guide to all who desire to know the work of the poet. One fact may, however, be noted. Our author says, "The adventures of Ibn Zaidoun and of Wallada, so often cited by Arab *littérateurs*, have inspired a poet of our time, Ibrahim Effendi al-Ahdab at-Tarabolsi to write a play in six acts (*rouaya*). This piece, of which the greater number of the Scenes are interspersed with lyrical pieces (*tekhmis*) has passages of too great a length to permit of scenic representation. Of greater value is the fact that the author has re-edited (pp. 69-72) the Risala addressed to Ibn 'Abdu, the same piece commented upon by Ibn Nobata. The text of this Risala is not included in this work of M. Cour, although he has given a translation of it, which reveals the poet's power of satire as also his extensive historical and literary knowledge."

PERCY SMITH.

Comparative Religion: A Survey of Its Recent Literature. By Louis Henry Jordan, B.D. (Edin.). Volume I, 1900-1909. pp. 164. New York: Milford. 1920.

This is a second, revised edition of a work which appeared in 1906, the first of three volumes, the second and third to be published next

year. In two sections the author reviews at length and with critical insight two score of books on Comparative Religion published since 1900, by such authorities as Bousset, Frazer, Hall, Kellogg, Mariano, Glover, Jevons, Pfeleiderer, Tisdall, and Troeltsch. A concluding chapter sums up the achievements, requirements and immediate prospects of the science of Comparative Religion, and makes a plea for the inclusion of this branch in the university curriculum.

The tendency of the author, however, is to question the absolute and final character of Christianity. "With this Comparative Religion has nothing to do" (p. 98).

S. M. Z.

Das Reisetagebuch Eines Philosophen. By Graf Hermann Kyserling. Two Vols. Darmstadt: Otto Reichl. 1920. pp. 886.

This is the third edition of a book that has made a name for itself in Germany, and received high praise in reviews; in fact, it enjoys the distinction of being selected as a textbook in Leipsic University in connection with their classes on philosophy. It is a drama of human life in all lands, an encyclopedia of information on religions and customs, a description of the world of today, East and West, in terms of philosophy. Count Keyserling made his tour around the world just before the war; his observations were revised later. As an example of his style we quote from the interesting chapter on Islam in Central Asia:

"Even the faces of its believers, who are unmistakably Hindus by blood, show the self-possessed serenely superior look which everywhere stamps the Moslem. These Indians are no dreamers, no visionaries, no strangers in this world. Thus they give a greater impression of reality. Their muscles seem tense; their eyes are bold; they bear themselves as if ready for a spring; their physique is much more charged with expression. How right the English are to regard and to treat the Islamic element as the decisive factor in India!

"The ritual of this belief has quite another significance than that of Hinduism or Catholicism. It embodies the idea of discipline. When the true believers every day at fixed hours perform their prayers in serried ranks in the mosque, all going through the same gestures at the same moment, this is not as in Hinduism, done as a method of self-realization, but in the spirit in which the Prussian soldier defiled before his Kaiser. This military basis of Islam explains all the essential virtues of the Mussulman. It also explains his fundamental defect—his unprogressiveness, his incapacity to adapt himself, his lack of initiative and invention. The soldier has simply to obey orders. All the rest is the affair of Allah."

The book has no illustrations, or maps, but an index of thirty pages.

S. M. Z.

Der Islam und die Christliche Verkündigung. Eine Missionarische Untersuchung. By Gottfried Simon. Bertelsmann-Gütersloh. 1920. pp. 363.

The author is well-known for his earlier work on "Islam and Christianity in their conflict for the conquest of animistic heathenism." The second German edition of this work was published in 1914 and the English translation by Miss E. I. M. Boyd appeared under the title "The Progress and Arrest of Islam in Sumatra." This volume is in one sense a continuation of his earlier study; it deals, however, with

Islam from a wider standpoint. For the German reader it covers the ground of the entire Moslem problem as it is related to Christian missions. The contents of the book include: History of Missions to Moslems from the earliest period until Pfander; The Question of Revelation, viz: The Koran witness to the Scriptures; The Genuineness and Authenticity of the Old and New Testaments; The Doctrine of God; The Place of Jesus in Islam; The Holy Spirit; The Trinity; Mohammed as Mediator; His Sinlessness and Miracles; Eschatology; The Task of Christian Missions; Its Method of Carrying the Message. The book is carefully prepared, and although much of its ground has been covered in earlier writings, Mr. Simon presents his facts convincingly. The Index to Bible References as well as a special Index to Koran passages and the Bibliography leave nothing to be desired. We express the hope that this textbook may be in the hands of many German missionaries and that the way for their return to Moslem lands may soon be opened.

S. M. Z.

The Secret Rose Garden of Sa'd ud-Din Mahmud Shabistari. Rendered from the Persian by Florence Lederer. The Wisdom of the East Series. Murray, London: 1921. 3s. 6d.

We welcome Miss Lederer's rendering from Shabistari's Secret Rose Garden. It is always a satisfaction to acquire a new volume of "The Wisdom of the East Series." For all who would know something of the thought of the great East, these volumes are indispensable.

A deep current of mysticism runs through the philosophy, religion, and poetry of Asia. In no portion of that ancient continent does that current run with a more reaching rhythm than in Iran—both old and new.

Sa'd ud-Din Mahmud was called Shabistari from his birthplace, a village near Tabriz, Persia, about seven hundred and fifty years ago. His most influential work is the "Secret Rose Garden," with its songs and studies of the soul and the beloved.

Inevitably we compare Shabistari with Hafiz, Rumi, and Jami. His lines may lack some of the subtle charm that Hafiz imparts to his stanzas. Rumi may be more original, Jami may be more elegant, but Shabistari makes his appeal by his earnestness and directness.

Our thanks to editors and translators.

MARY FLEMING LABAREE.

A Chant of Mystics and Other Poems. By Ahmeen Rihani. James T. White & Co., New York. 1921. \$1.25.

There is real skill and grace in the verses of this son of the East, who also became a son of the West. To me the chief interest in this volume centers upon the mystic strain that colors it so largely and is characteristic of Near Eastern verse today as back through the centuries. Mr. Rihani has sat at the feet of the Sufis and Abdul Baha with a right good will.

MARY FLEMING LABAREE.

The Orient under the Caliphs. (Translated from Von Kremer's *Culturgeschichte des Orients*. By S. Khuda Bukhsh, M.A. University of Calcutta. 1920. pp. 463.

Students of Islam are greatly indebted to the work of Mr. Khuda Bukhsh. His "Essays Indian and Islamic," and other works, are proof of his breadth of vision and true scholarship. Although this work is

a translation, it will be welcomed by all readers. With the exception of a few errors in printing, for which he is not responsible, the work has been well done. Von Kremer is a trustworthy interpreter of the social, political and economic history of Islam. The narrative is vivid and graphic. It reads almost like a romance. In the words of the translator in his preface, "Von Kremer sees in Islam and in Islamic civilization something well worth serious study. Islamic religion stands out as a beacon-light amidst the encircling darkness of the Middle Ages, and Islamic civilization as a landmark in the progress of humanity. In Moslem Law he sees a system, second only to Roman Law in breadth of view, in refinement, in humanity and wisdom. This book deals not with the dry and wearisome details of military operations; nor does it concern itself with the hideous rogueries of court intrigues—with murder, lust, rapine, and depredations; but lays bare before us all that was of enduring value in Islam or Islamic civilization" The book lacks maps, but more especially an index.

The Lebanon in Turmoil; Syria and the Powers in 1860. Book of the marvels of the time concerning the massacres in the Arab country. By Iskander Iben Yaqub Abkarims. Translated, annotated and provided with an introduction, etc., by J. F. Scheltema, M.A. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920. pp. 203.

This is a translation of an Arabic Mss. on the disturbances that took place in the Lebanon a generation ago. It gives the inner history of the calamity which befell the Christians of Mt. Lebanon, but according to the author this trouble was largely of their own making. The instigation of European powers to further their own secret designs brought about four civil wars between 1841 and 1860. Four Powers commenced their work on the pretext of excluding French influence, and the five Powers completed it by causing the country to be occupied by French troops. The translator suggests rather heartlessly that the "bloodshed in this case was one of nature's contrivances to provide against over-population and to kill the human surplus because of the prolificity of the Syrians"! In his conclusions (pages 159 to 193) Mr. Scheltema asserts that history will repeat itself. He says, "Syria with the Lebanon is a good instance in point and its present tribulations resemble those of the 'forties and 'sixties, to borrow a simile from a great Arab historian, as water resembles water. Spurred by the same motives, we see France once more playing out the Maronites against Britain, exactly as she did in 1860, Britain playing out against France the Arabs and the Jews as then she did the Druzes, a game of skill backed by force, in which the new frontiers on the map of the Near and Middle East will be traced by the strongest hand and the permanence of control will be determined by the soundness of that hand's directing intellect—subject to the hazards of the dangerous gamble in broken promises and violated compacts now again merrily going on." This volume therefore, revealing as it does the complicity of European jealousies and ambitions, and its effect on Oriental Christians and Moslems, is not only of historical but of expository value.

S. M. ZWEMER.

Précis de Sociologie Nord-Africaine (Second Partie) par A. S. P. Martin. Paris, 1920. Ernest Leroux, 1920.

The author of this detailed study of social conditions among Moslems in North Africa is chief-interpreter in the French-Colonial Army

and Professor in the School of Commerce at Bordeaux. He has written on the geography of the Sahara and prepared a grammar on colloquial Arabic. The first volume of these sociological studies (2nd Edition just published) is general, introductory and historical. It deals with the origins of Moslem institutions and the Arab conquest of North Africa; how the religion of Islam spread, and how it was affected by European culture and colonization. The present volume is particular, and specifically catalogues and depicts the whole round of everyday life and conduct in sixty short vivid chapters. Beginning with ethnology and the languages used by the tribesmen and townspeople, it describes their food, clothing, weapons, diversions, dwellings and settlements. The religious practices from the daily ablutions to the annual festivals are accurately described with only an occasional slip as on pages 14 and 167, where the ejaculations before sacrifice and at a funeral are incorrectly stated. Infancy, education, marriage, polygamy and divorce receive attention, but no mention is made of slavery, although this social institution has only recently disappeared. We have a brief account of various superstitions, of funeral customs, professions, industries, and material resources. The two final chapters give a summary of Moslem ethics, in a series of current maxims, mostly taken from As-Suyuti's *Jamia-as-Saghir*, and tell of the effect of the world-war.

With real optimism, not blind to the fanatic elements in Islam, but with hope in the power of education and just laws, M. Martin closes his discussion:

"Il nous faut une cité française s'étendant de Tunis à 'Caza,' où les citoyens français ou francisés de toutes races (la Nation française tout entière n'est-elle pas qu'un 'salmigondis de races'!) seraient les électeurs sans épithète d'élus communs contrôlant un pouvoir aussi émancipé, vis-à-vis de la Métropole, qu'un 'Dominion'—et où, de plus, les habitants indigènes non évolués comme les résidents étrangers seraient des administrés sans droits politiques, subissant des charges plus lourdes que les citoyens pour qu'ils aspirent à être admis parmi ceux-ci. 'L'Afrique du Nord doit devenir l'Afro-France.'"

The Tanganyika Territory (Formerly German East Africa.) Characteristics and Potentialities. By F. S. Joelson. London: T. Fisher Unwin, Ltd. pp. 256. Map. 21/- Net.

This work gives an insight into the conditions, problems and possibilities of the new British East African Mandatory. Mr. Joelson shows us the transformation of Dar es Salaam from an insignificant coastal village to the seat of the Sultan of Zanzibar and then to the flourishing capital of the most prized German colony.

There are two chapters on education and missions, and one on Islam in East Africa, giving a somewhat superficial account of the conflict between Islam and civilization. An important factor in the extension of Islam has been the spread of the Swahili language, which Germany made the official language. Nevertheless "out of the ten million inhabitants of German East Africa prior to the war the government returns showed only three per cent to be professing Moslems." A proclamation issued by the Imperial Governor Schnee on behalf of Germany in 1915 is a call to Jihad. It remains to be seen what will be the attitude of the British Government in the new situation.

A Handbook of Arabia. Volume I. GENERAL. Compiled by the Geographical Section of the Naval Intelligence Division, Naval Staff, Admiralty. Published by H. M. Stationery Office. London. pp. 708. 15 plates, 4 maps. Price 10s. Net.

The sources from which this work has been compiled include native information obtained for the purpose since the outbreak of the war. This applies in particular to the strength and distribution of the Bedouin tribes and to their political relationships. Recent information from native sources has also been used for parts of the Red Sea littoral, such as the little-known region of Asir. For Central Arabia and the routes leading to it from the north new and unpublished material has been combined with that given in the notes and itineraries of less recent travellers. The first volume of the Handbook contains geographical and political information of a general character; the second volume is devoted mainly to detailed routes.

As a geographical handbook to the Bedouin tribes there is nothing better. The statistics of trade and population are often not more than estimates, but the glossary, the full index, the photographic plates, and four excellent maps, make the volume indispensable to every missionary in Arabia and its border lands. What would the early pioneers not have given for a handbook of this description! S. M. Z.

The Kabbalah; Its Doctrines, Development and Literature. By Christian D. Ginsburg, LL.D. London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd. pp. 232.

This is a reprint from the first edition of a work entitled *Essenes*, (omitting pages 1 to 82.) It deals with the character, origin and development of the system of philosophy known as the Kabbalah. The three parts of the book are of equal length, and there is a very full biography given to each section. The Kabbalah not only exercised an extraordinary influence on the mental development of the Jews, but, in the department of magic it has dominated the Moslem mind as well. Among its captives were Raymund Lull, the celebrated scholastic, metaphysician and chemist, John Reuchlin, Cornelius Henry Agrippa, and many others. The author states, "Nothing can be more evident than that the cardinal and distinctive tenets of the Kabbalah in its original form, as stated at the beginning of the second part of this Essay, are derived from Neo-Platonism. Any doubt upon this subject must be relinquished when the two systems are compared."

La Fin de Stamboul, Essai sur la Monde Turc. By Henry Mylès. Paris: E. Sansot. pp. 211.

Brief but rather brilliant pen-pictures of the old city of Stamboul during the stormy period April, 1913, to January, 1921. "Stamboul cet étrange champignon poussé sur le cadavre de Byzance achève de se décomposer sous la lumière du ciel d'Orient." The forty sketches of Moslem life and manners and the passing Turk are grouped in four parts: "Le Décor," "Les Survivances," "Les Fantomes Humains," and "Les Cendres." The dying embers cast a weird light on things social and political, but the old fire will not be rekindled.

CURRENT TOPICS

Christians in the City of Omar Khayyam

Nishāpūr, the city of Khayyam and Sheikh Attar is said to have once been a seat of learning and one of the four great cities of Persia. At present it can boast a population of only 25,000, but it is situated in the midst of one of the most fertile districts of Persia and in the villages of Nishāpūr there probably live 125,000 people. Several missionary visits have been made to this region in the past ten years by members of the Meshed Station, but no one remained in Nishāpūr for any length of time. Recently Dr. R. E. Hoffman and I spent six weeks in this city in combined medical evangelistic work. The doctor opened a hospital and treated about two thousand dispensary patients and performed two hundred and twenty operations. Several hundred Scriptures were sold and a number of men came to read and talk about Christianity. There are several aspects of this campaign which are of interest in that they show the conditions and possibilities of missionary work in Khorasan at the present time.

First of all we were greatly impressed by the fruit that the Bible selling of past years was bearing. Men who were the owners of Bibles were invariably our friends. Many took great delight in telling how they had bought their book from "the man with the long beard," Rev. L. F. Esselstyn, D.D., the old pioneer of Khorasan. Some of the most interested inquirers came from this class. There were four men who openly confessed faith in Christ before we left, and three of these had been converted almost entirely through their reading of the Scriptures. Two years ago, after the famine that visited Persia, the farmers were perplexed to know where to find seed wheat for their planting. But to their great joy when the rains at last came the fields burst out in green of themselves—the seed which had for two years been lying in the ground needed only the water to make it bear fruit. The Word of God is lying hidden in many hearts in Khorasan, and it seems that the showers are beginning to fall.

We were also pleased at the religious toleration that we enjoyed in Nishāpūr in carrying on our work. Scriptures were sold widely in the bazaar, public meetings were held in the hospital in which the Gospel was fully preached, many of the *mullahs* of the city came to talk with us about our religion, but there was not the least fanaticism or even opposition displayed. One of the Christians was fearless in telling people that he had left Mohammed for Christ, and why, and his hearers seemed more interested and amused than angry. It is true that a newspaper article was published in which the authorities were called upon to look into what we were doing, and for several days some of our inquirers were frightened away, but nothing was done to stop us. The religious leaders were either unable to do anything or were not sufficiently interested to attempt it.

This was due in part at least to the presence of the doctor and the hospital. Most of the men of authority in the city were under the treatment of the doctor and naturally were not willing to have him leave until they at least had been cured. The hospital proved to be a sheltered spot to which people could come with a minimum of publicity in which we could carry on our work with perfect freedom. We were careful to leave the city before the hospital had lost its popularity and before the opposition could organize.

But the medical work not only protected us against possible opposition; in the minds of the thinking men of the city it proved to be one of our most powerful apologetics. The fact that a Christian doctor had the ability to do a work of healing which the Mohammedans could not do, and that the people of America should take enough interest in their religion and in the rest of the world to send doctors and ministers to every land as missionaries made a deep impression. When some faultfinder would begin to argue for the superiority of Islam we would sometimes challenge him with the question, "Then why do you not collect money and send one of your doctors and one of your *mullahs* to America to convert us to the true religion?" There was never an answer forthcoming.

And finally the combined medical-bookselling-evangelistic work made it possible to stir the whole city and arouse all the people to examine the claims of Christ to an extent that no one of these branches of work would have been capable of alone. It would seem that there would be no more effective use to which we could put our little force in evangelizing the fourteen cities of Khorasan than in carrying on such campaigns in as many of them as possible.

W. McE. MILLER.

A Fatwa for Nestle's Milk

For the past months facsimiles of a Fatwa given by the authorities of the Azhar to Nestle & Company were seen in all the grocery shops of Cairo. The following is a verbatim translation:

"The Religious Law Court of Egypt. In the Name of God the Merciful, the Compassionate.

"Fatwa concerning the use of Nestle's milk and Nestle's food.

"Since His Highness the learned Mufti of Egypt was appealed to as to his legal opinion regarding the use of Nestle's Milk and Nestle's Food, it is now hereby declared that after His Honour had thoroughly examined the composition and benefits of this product and had also scrutinized the testimonials of physicians in the matter, he gave the following declaration. May God strengthen him. Praise be to God alone and prayer and peace upon him than whom there is no later Apostle.

"Since conditions of affairs are as above described the use of this Milk is permitted according to Moslem Law and no one can prevent anyone from using it on religious grounds and God knows best.

"Signed and Sealed

"MOHAMMED ISMAIL AL BARDASI,

"*Mufti of Egypt.*

("Here is the seal of the Department of Fatwa)

"Dated this 9th day of Al Kaada 1338."

(Corresponding to July 25th, 1920)

A Duplicate of the Mosque at Cordova

Lt. Gen. F. H. Tyrrell writes to the *Morning Post* regarding the existence at Gulburga, in the Deccan, India, of an exact replica of the great Mosque at Cordova, with its thousand columns. He says: "The story told me was that a Moorish architect had travelled from Cordova to India, and built this duplicate of the Cathedral Mosque of his native city, once the capital of an Arabian Caliphate, for the Moslem king of the Bahmani Dynasty, which then occupied the cerulean throne of Gulburga. When I visited this magnificent Mosque in 1887 it was derelict and falling into decay. Had it been in British India it would have been carefully preserved and repaired by our government, but it was situated in the territory of a Mussulman ruler, and the glory and the power of Gulburga has passed to Golconda and Hyderabad."

Christmas Day from a Moslem Standpoint

The editor of *Ahaly*—one of the daily papers in Cairo, meditates as follows on Christmas Day, 1920. What he writes is a message for the West, even though we may not agree with his conclusions.

"How curious and strange is the nature of man! Tomorrow Westerners will celebrate Christmas Day, the day when forbearance was born with the birth of Jesus, when the mercy of heaven came down to earth as He came to it, and when the good news was heralded to all that fraternity, love, and peace had come. One may imagine, as one casts a look on them while they celebrate this blessed day, and exchange good wishes and greetings on its occasion, that the principles of Christ are still in the hearts of His peoples, and that His generous commandments are strictly obeyed by these peoples; whereas if one looks well one clearly sees that they are in one valley, and the principles of Christ in another. No forbearance, no mercy, no fraternity, and no peace! The nature of mankind before Christ remained the same after His birth. The only difference is that they have succeeded in discovering, by means of their reasoning powers, a cover to hide it, and a false paint to give it a glittering color in the eyes of those who can see, but cannot know. Where is forbearance and where is mercy? Here are the wounds of the world still bleeding; the hearts of people are grieved and full of misery and wretchedness, for in every nation there is a calamity, and every place has its mourning. Injustice is up and justice is down, slavery is permanent; the mighty continue to consume the rights of the weak, and without feeling any remorse; the influential trespass upon the humble without feeling any shame; the wealthy who only care to fill their safes with money look as if they would suck up the blood of the poor without feeling any pain in their hearts. And yet they say to us 'forbearance' and we believe; they say 'mercy' and we trust that is true. If this be 'forbearance,' which for goodness' sake breaks hearts, and if that be 'mercy' which is the state that brings about heartrending affliction.".....

The Genealogy of Jesus

The Reverend J. Ireland Hasler, Agra, N. India, tells us of a little Urdu booklet of 16 pages bearing the above title which was being distributed gratuitously in May last in the streets of Agra. It is almost entirely made up of quotations from the Christian Scriptures inserted without a word of comment. First there come the two genealogies as

found respectively in the First and Third Gospels. The second section consists of a compilation of those passages, with their contexts, which speak of Jesus as the carpenter's son, and one of a family, or the son of David, viz: Mk. 6: 2-4; Matt. 13: 53-56; 9: 27; 12: 23, 46; 20: 30; John 1: 45; 7: 3-5; Luke 1: 26-32; 2: 4, 5; 2: 25-33 (the revised text of verse 33 is quoted, viz: "his father" instead of "Joseph"); 2: 40-43; 4: 22; 8: 19, 20; 18: 38.

In the concluding section, verses are quoted in support of the assertion that in former times God's devout servants were called His sons and He was called their Father, viz: 1 Chron. 22: 10 (of Solomon); Luke 6: 35, 36 (of the followers of Christ); so also in Luke 12: 29, 30, 32; Matt. 18: 12, 14; 23: 9; Mk. 11: 25; Matt. 5: 44, 45, 48; John 20: 16, 17; Gen. 6: 2; Exod. 4: 21, 22 (of the children of Israel as God's "first-born son"); Jer. 31: 9 (in the quotation, "Abraham" is written in mistake for "Ephraim"); Luke 3: 38 (of Adam).

"There are, in addition," says the writer, "many other verses of this purport in the Taurat, Zabur and Injil. It is clear, however, both from those which have been quoted and from others of this nature, that mankind was called by the name 'sons of God,' and God, Father of mankind. Consequently it is evident that such is the basis of the application of the title 'Son of God' to Jesus in the previous books. God is One and Unique and has no son, neither is He the father of anyone."

This booklet appears to mark a new departure from the line of ordinary Mohammedan controversy. The fact is accepted that according to the teaching of the gospels the title "son of God" was ascribed to Jesus, but the claim is made that Christians have misinterpreted its meaning, and have read more into it than is admissible in the light of other Scripture passages. The writer has exercised ingenuity in his selection of texts, and the total absence of invective in his book adds to the plausibility of his argument.

Moslem Perplexity in Turkey

The following questions were asked by a group of students, nearly all of them Moslems, at a club meeting of the Y. M. C. A. in Constantinople:

"How do you distinguish between the heavenly and non-heavenly religions also among the philosophical roads? What kind of interesting effects has religion upon social human welfare, also upon conservation of morality? Where is the basis of good and high morality? What philosophy do you find in the coming of prophets to the world? What kind of success did Moses have for his tribes? Are there any exact historical details about the time at which Mary and Jesus were in Egypt? Did Jesus change the laws of Moses? There are some highly considered persons who do not get an immediate satisfaction for the goodness which they make in the world. What kind of satisfaction will they have in the Hereafter? What way does Christianity believe in that? The whole humanity believe in the sacredness of the prophets, whereas some holy books speak against a part of the prophets. As this is a thing which cannot be put side by side with the merits of prophets, it seems that all these sayings are not true. In that case do such books not lose their sacredness? According to the justice of God a man must not be responsible for the sins which another man commits; therefore how would you explain the fact that all the men

were held responsible for the sin which Adam had committed? Some religions divide man into two parts, spiritual and physical; how may this be allowed from the human equality point of view? The real Christianity orders men to treat one another with humility, kindness and softness. Why then are there but few Christians who do so?

A Conference on Moslem Missions in Germany

A conference of workers of the German Missionary Societies was held at Uchtenhagen, March 29 to April 3, where the following questions were discussed: How must we carry the Christian Message to Islam?—G. Simon. Islam as a Popular Religion among Arabs and Nubians—J. Enderlin. The Present Situation in Moslem Missions—Dr. J. Richter. Personal experiences in Turkistan—Count Pahlen. The Oriental Church and Missions to Moslems—Mr. Ehmann. The Oriental Woman—B. Rohner. We hope to give our readers an account of this gathering later.

Life Among the Senussi

Mrs. Rosita Forbes contributes a series of articles to the *Times* (London) on her adventurous journey across the Great Desert to Taj in Kufra. Here we have a picture of Islam as it is today, with slave trade and fanaticism, the ideals of the old faith, still held tenaciously. She says:

"Taj is a strange little city of windowless houses built like fortresses, with solid walls of black stone, with red sand for mortar. It contains only the large houses of the Sayeds and a few important *ikhwan* (brethren), a *zawia* (convent), with the holy *kubba* and mosque. Nobody is seen outside the high walls of the houses, and Taj appears to be a deserted city. Everything needed is brought up by slaves from the valley below the city. The walls at Taj are a hundred feet deep, and water is precious.

"There is no vegetation, not even a blade of grass, on the cliffs which overhang and almost surround the valley of Kufra. The valley is some 40 miles long and 20 broad at its widest point. The cleft in which the valley lies hidden appears suddenly in the surface of the monotonous expanse of the desert which presents a surface of dark stone and red sand, broken by small hillocks. We were only a few hundred yards distant when we first saw that there was a cleft.

"Kufra is really six separate oases with many ruins of Tebu villages and castles. There is no running water in the oases, and I was told that no rain had fallen for eight years. All the water is obtained from wells. There is an excellent system of irrigation by means of artificial channels and cisterns.

"The Senussi employ a large amount of slave labour, and slaves are sold regularly at Jof, the men for £20, while women fetch £30. The whole group of oases has about 3,000 Zawia Arabs and about 300 Tebu, besides the large number of Sudanese slaves. There is practically no grazing at Kufra, and the camels are fed on dates, which cost some 4s. a camel load. Tanned scarlet-dyed leather costs 14s. for a whole goat-skin.

"I lived the life of a veiled Arab woman in Taj for nine days, and visited the holy *kubba* (*mihrab* or prayer niche turned towards Mecca)

of Sidi el Mahdi, a former head of the Order, in the *zawia* (convent) of the Sayeds, the most sacrosanct spot of the Senussi. I had a kodak with me, but was obliged to hide it under my voluminous *barracan* (outer enveloping garment), and take photographs stealthily through a specially cut hole. All our instruments in fact had to be hidden. The gravest distrust was exhibited even of the compass as the Bedouins believed that its luminous needle pointing always to the North Star might bewitch and destroy their only guide at night.

"Justice is administered by the Senussi according to the rules of the Koran and blood money exacted. The use of wine and tobacco is forbidden under pain of losing the right hand. The amputation of the hands of thieves, floggings and fines are other penalties enforced.

"With regard to the policy of the Senussi, everywhere devotion to the present ruler, Sidi Idriss, was expressed, and also friendly feeling towards England. Sayed Ahmed (the deposed Senussi Sheikh, now with the Turkish Nationalists) is regarded respectfully as a devout Moslem, but his policy of making war on England is universally condemned. Sidi Idriss is looked upon as the saviour of the country, and his modern progressive policy concerning England and Italy is approved by the majority of the *ikhwan* and merchants. The fanatical *Zawia* still, however, hate strangers."

French Work in Morocco

Marshal Lyautey, French Resident General in Morocco, has given to a joint meeting of the Algerian and Colonial Committees and the Colonial and Moroccan groups of the Chamber an interesting and impressive account of his work in the pacification of Morocco (says *The Times* Paris correspondent.) Many members of this new Chamber had not had an opportunity of meeting the great Colonial administrator before, and were much impressed by the vigour and the terse, soldierly eloquence with which he expressed his views.

Marshal Lyautey declared that in his opinion the major part of the work of pacification in Morocco had already been accomplished, and should no external complications intervene he thought that in two years at most Morocco would be entirely peaceful.

Two conditions were, however, necessary. The first was that he should be left in command of the 80,000 men he now has. Out of the 80,000, 35,000 were French, only 6,000 of whom are in combatant units, the others being employed in administration and organization. Secondly, he must have granted to him credits for 500,000,000f. (about £10,000,000).

He went on to expound the Moslem question, and argued that, so far as her Moroccan interests were concerned, it was necessary for France to come to an understanding with Turkey as early as possible. "If Turkey," he declared, "continues to be treated badly, the inhabitants of Morocco will not continue to be contented. All the Moslem world has its eyes turned towards Constantinople. France would reap a great benefit from an entente with Turkey."

The Marshal added that German influence, which during the war made itself felt very strongly in Morocco, was still, unfortunately, continuing to put numerous difficulties in the pathway of his civilizing and colonizing mission.

SURVEY OF PERIODICALS

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I. GENERAL.

THE BAGDAD RAILWAY. A. D. C. Russell. (*The Quarterly Review*, London. April, 1921. pp. 307-329.)

A review of the various stages in the building of the Bagdad railway, showing the increasing German influence and the importance of Abdul Hamid II's policy of pan-Islamism in regard to the railway as a counter to the English Khalifate policy. A careful statistical study of the financial failure of the road, based on documents hitherto accessible only to Germans. Accompanied by a map.

JEW AND ARAB IN PALESTINE. Leonard Stein. (*Eastern Europe*, London. May, 1921. pp. 159-170.)

A balanced, rather cold analysis of the hostility of the Arab to Zionism. Moslem Arabs (who form a tremendous proportion of the population of Palestine) have been accustomed to consider all Jews as inferiors, and naturally oppose any movement tending to challenge their social or economic domination. On the other hand, Arab opposition to Zionism, which has been active for a long time, is not and never has been implacable.

SOME RECENT ARABIAN EXPLORATIONS. D. G. Hogarth. (*The Geographical Review*, New York. July, 1921. pp. 321-337.)

The war opened to outsiders at least two sections of hitherto unknown Arabia—the Hejaz, and southern Nejd. The steps by which these districts became known (the former to a comparatively numerous group of British officers, the latter to a single European, are traced, and the distinctive geographical features of each outlined.

THE SULTAN SPEAKS. William T. Ellis. (*The American Review of Reviews*, New York. July, 1921. pp. 84-86.)

Impressions gained in two long interviews. The Armenian atrocities the Sultan frankly condemns as political crimes of the Young Turk party, and he pleads for a just and impartial consideration of Turkey's fate, instead of the resumption of the old fashions and ambitions of European diplomacy and intrigue there. Strongly favors America's becoming the guardian and teacher of the peoples of the Near East.

THE UNREST IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD. Lothrop Stoddard. (*Scribner's Magazine*, New York. July, 1921. pp. 15-23.)

Deals with the importance of the Sennussiya, the development of pan-Islamism, and the great missionary victories of Islam at the present time. The influence of Western ideas and methods on the

internal regenerative forces of the Moslem world is traced, showing that at the moment when the subjugation of Mohammedan rule seemed complete it challenged Western domination as never before. To be concluded.

II. ISLAM IN ARABIA.

III. HISTORY OF ISLAM.

THE CRADLE OF THE OTTOMAN NATION. J. Prestwold. (*The Venturer*, London. June, 1921. pp. 432-438.)

To be concluded. This part is devoted mainly to an historical discussion, showing the difference in the terms "Turks" and "Osmanli."

KHORASAN. Denkmalsgeographische Studien zur Kulturgeschichte des Islam in Iran. Ernst Herzfeld. (*Der Islam*, Berlin. Band XI., Heft ¼, 1921. pp. 107-174.)

A detailed historical as well as geographical description of the monuments, accompanied by two sketch maps and some bibliographical references.

IV. KORAN, TRADITIONS, THEOLOGY.

V. RELIGIOUS AND SOCIAL LIFE.

ASERBEIDCHANISCHE TEXTE ZUR NORDPERSISCHEN VOLKSKUNDE. Hellmut Ritter. (*Der Islam*, Berlin. Band XI., Heft ¼, 1921. pp. 181-212.)

Two folktales ("Molla Jälya aus Isfahan" and "Wie man in Persien heiratet") given first in the dialect of northern Persia and then in the German translation.

ISLAM AND THE WORLD PEACE. Mia Mahomed Haji Jan Mahomed Chotani. (*The Venturer*, London. June, 1921. pp. 422-424.)

Author is president of the Central Khalifat Committee, and head of the Indian Moslem delegation to England. He calls England to redeem her war pledges to her Moslem subjects, the repudiation of which led the latter to join in the boycott of the government.

SCHECH BEDR ED-DIN, DER SOHN DES RICHTERS VON SIMAW. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Sektenwesens im altpersischen Reich. Franz Babinger. (*Der Islam*, Berlin. Band XI., Heft ¼, 1921. pp. 1-106.)

A careful monograph on an outstanding figure of the fifteenth century. There is a brief review of the time, a life of Bedr ed-din Mahmud, followed by estimates of his work, with Arabic and Latin quotations from his contemporaries.

ÜBER EINE PALASTTÜRE UND SCHLÖSSER NACH AL-GAZARI. E. Wiedemann and F. Hauser. (*Der Islam*, Berlin. Band XI., Heft ¼, 1921. pp. 213-251.)

A study of Gazari's descriptions of a door in the royal palace in Amid, of an artistic letter-lock on a chest, and of a lock with four bolts for a door. Profusely illustrated with drawings and diagrams.

VI. POLITICAL RELATIONSHIPS.

EGYPT, THE PROTECTORATE, AND THE MILNER REPORT. Thomas Barclay. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. April, 1921. pp. 567-580.)

Ever since 1880 the British Government has repeatedly and officially repudiated any design of establishing a protectorate over Egypt. Reasons for the growth of the feeling in that country that England has not been sincere in these pronouncements are forcibly set forth, together with the difficulties raised by the Egyptian "Reservations" to the Milner-Zaglul "Heads of Agreement." These Heads and the Reservations are appended.

MESOPOTAMIA EXPLAINED. II. H. Birch Reynardson. (*The Asiatic Review*, London. July, 1921. pp. 408-415.)

Concluding the summary of the "Review of the Civil Administration of Mesopotamia." This section deals with the Kurds and the Kurdish question, outlines incisively the nationalist movement, and shows how narrowly Mesopotamia escaped the terrible consequences of Asiatic anarchy through the failure of the West to appreciate the East's interpretation of conciliation and forbearance as weakness.

PERSIA AT THE CRISIS OF HER FATE. Sir Percy Sykes. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. May, 1921. pp. 826-832.)

During the war, Persia nominally was neutral. Actually, her territory was fought over by the armies of Russia, Germany, Turkey, and Great Britain, and she suffered severely in property and loss of life. Although a great deal of this, as is here shown, was due to her own internal incompetence, her psychology is indicated in her large demands at the Peace Conference, and her reaction to the great effort to set her on her feet made by the British Government through Sir Percy Cox.

THE REPORT OF THE MILNER COMMISSION ON EGYPT. Malcolm McIlwraith. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. April, 1921. pp. 561-566.)

Brief observations on the more salient features of the report. The author was judicial adviser in Egypt at the time of the declaration of the Protectorate, and is distinctly pessimistic as to the wisdom or feasibility of the proposals made.

THE REVISION OF THE TURKISH TREATY. (*The Contemporary Review*, London. May, 1921. pp. 577-589.)

The three countries most affected by the revision of the treaty of Sèvres are Armenia, Smyrna, and Thrace; and these are dealt with in turn by Viscount Bryce, Sir John Stavridi, and Noel Buxton. The treaty in its original form, containing the considered policy of all the Allies, was a noble and humane document. The writers bring a stinging indictment of the victorious Belligerent Powers in regard to these three unfortunate countries, showing how in the revision of the treaty the Powers have flagrantly violated the principles in the name of which the war was fought, and have surrendered morally to Turkish truculence.

THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE EAST. Robert Machray. (*The Fortnightly Review*, London. May, 1921. pp. 727-737.)

The "Middle East" is here taken to include Caucasia, Armenia, Cilicia, Syria, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Kurdistan, Persia, Transcaspia, and part of Turkistan. Discusses chiefly the policy of the British Middle East Department, as outlined by its chief, Winston Churchill. The references are particularly to Mesopotamia, Syria, Persia, and the Arab question.

VII. MOHAMMEDAN MISSIONS.

THE APPEAL OF THE NEAR EAST. Stanley White. (*All the World*, New York. July, 1921. pp. 149-153.)

A brief analysis of the causes of the world's restlessness as related to the Near Eastern question. These are found to lie in the variety of races there, the political intrigues of Europe in regard to the country, the break-down of Islam, and the terrible experiences through which the country has passed, with its inevitable psychological effect. Finally, the duty of the Christian Church under the circumstances is considered.

BAGDAD, 1921. James Cantine. (*Neglected Arabia*, New York. April-June, 1921. pp. 15-17.)

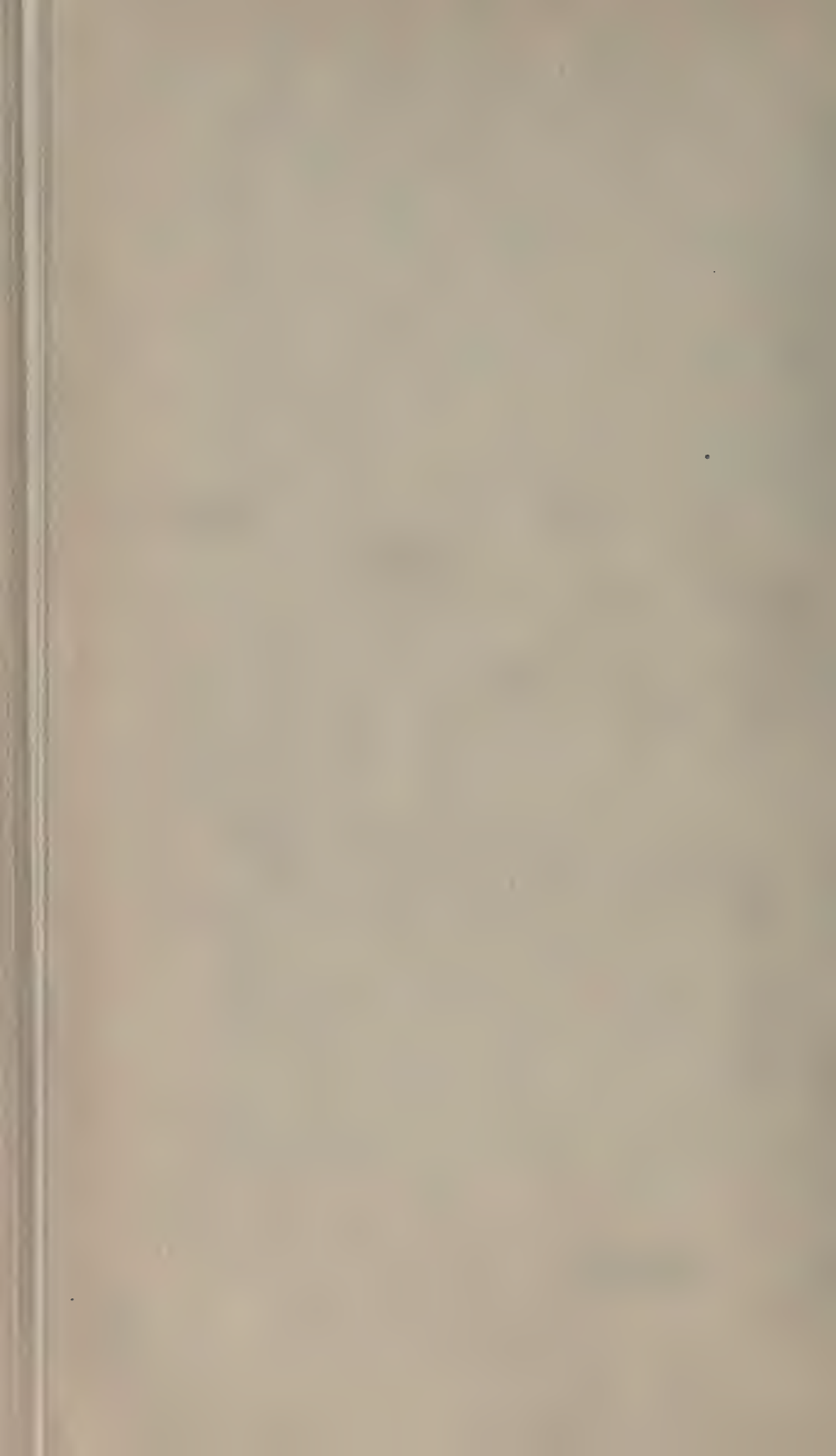
When the Church Missionary Society withdrew from Upper Mesopotamia, the Arabian Mission made a tentative appointment of Dr. and Mrs. Cantine to Bagdad, to secure continuity of work until a permanent occupation of the country could be ordered from the Home Base. This is a summary of conditions as they faced Dr. Cantine on his arrival, with the outlook for the future.

INTOLERANCE IN INLAND ARABIA. Dr. Louis Paul Dame. (*Neglected Arabia*, New York. April-June, 1921. pp. 9-14.)

Some characteristics observed by Dr. Dame during a six weeks' stay in Riadh. The intolerance and growing power of the Ikhwan were particularly evident, as well as a very lively desire to be benefited by the accursed Christian's medical skill.

MOHAMMEDAN PROPAGANDA. Herbert Smith. (*The Congo Mission News*, Bolobo. April, 1921. pp. 10-12.)

The sub-title reads "Can Christian Missions follow their Methods?" Some of these methods, together with reasons for their tremendous effectiveness in Africa, are enumerated; and it is pointed out that while Christian missions cannot use all of the Mohammedan methods, they might well learn from them to be more aggressive, perhaps radical, if they are not to cede place to Islam.



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